

To Mary Godfrey



L.T. EDWARD SETTLE GODFREY

The Field Diary of

Lt. Edward Settle Godfrey,

Commanding Co. K, 7th Cavalry Regiment

under

Lt. Colonel George Armstrong Custer

in the Sioux encounter at the

Battle of the Little Big Horn

Covering the period from May 17, 1876
when the expedition commanded by

BRIGADIER GENERAL ALFRED H. TERRY

left Ft. Abraham Lincoln, Bismarck, Dakota Territory

until the return of the battered regiment

a few days after September 24, 1876

to the same place.



Edited with an Introduction and Notes by

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Together with a Note on the Kicking Bear Pictograph by

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Introduction

JUDGED by almost any standard, Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer's Battle of the Little Big Horn, fought on the 25th and 26th of June, 1876, was a minor affair. A combination of circumstances, operating at the time and subsequently, have made it one of the most controversial engagements in American history and created an American legend of near epic proportions. As I remarked in *Custer's Luck*, the blood shed on that historic Sunday has probably been exceeded many times over by the ink spent in explaining and discussing the battle. It would seem that no aspect of that tragic affair could escape this searching scrutiny. But one primary source of information has been almost completely overlooked.

It is the field diary, presented herewith, kept by Lieutenant Edward Settle Godfrey, commanding Company K of the Seventh Cavalry Regiment. The diary covers the period from May 17, 1876, the day the expedition under the command of Brigadier General Alfred T. Terry left Fort Abraham Lincoln, Bismarck, Dakota Territory, to September 24, 1876, when the battered remnants of that proud regiment was within a few days' march of the same place. The original diary is preserved with the Godfrey Papers in the Library of Congress. Save for a typescript made, but apparently put to no further use, by the late William J. Ghent, the document has entirely escaped attention.

The diary is made up of two small pocket notebooks, written in pencil—rough field notes, unrevised and unadorned.

Like most diarists, Godfrey occasionally allowed several days to elapse before bringing the diary up to date, but probably no entry was made more than four or five days after the events described.

The diary was kept, not with any idea of publication, but for the information of Lieutenant Godfrey's family and friends, and as a corrective to his own memory. The Lieutenant was a prolific letter writer, and it was on the diary as well as upon the many letters, especially those to his wife and father, that his later well-known account of the Little Big Horn Campaign was largely based. This article first appeared in the *Century Magazine* for January, 1892, and was later reprinted, with some additional material, in Vol. IX of the *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*.

The diary provides corroborating and substantiating evidence on several disputed points. For example, after Captain Benteen's battalion, to which Godfrey's company was attached, had joined Major Reno on the hill, the author says that Major Reno sent one company to some bluffs farther downstream to look for Custer's command because he could hear volley firing and the rattle of guns, but that this company returned without having been able to learn anything of Custer's whereabouts. This statement is of interest because nearly all other accounts of the battle contend that Troop D under command of Captain Thomas B. Weir moved downstream without orders, in fact in defiance of orders, and make no mention of the company returning until Captain Benteen with three other companies moved downstream to where Captain Weir waited on the bluffs. During the night, after the Indians had broken off the attack, Godfrey and Weir discussed the situation and concluded that they would have to

look to Benteen to rescue them. In Godfrey's words, "Colonel Reno carried no vigor nor decision, and his personal behaviour gave no confidence in him." This statement is of interest in view of the charge of drunkenness later brought against Reno relative to this action. Although he later recalled that Weir came to him during the night and inquired as to whose orders he would obey in a conflict of authority between Reno and Benteen, Godfrey makes no mention of this in the diary. Nor in the diary does he claim to have found a dead cavalry horse near the mouth of the Rosebud Creek. Godfrey's later account says he found a horse and so raised the possibility that there might have been a survivor of Custer's personal command. A number of other such examples might be cited.

The diary also gives us some very interesting pen pictures and sidelights on the character of the leading figures in the battle. The delineations of General Terry are of especial interest.

The diary reveals Lieutenant Godfrey as very human, fond of his family and not entirely reconciled to the separation from them that his army career made necessary. But that he was also somewhat naive is shown by his request that he be allowed to accompany the supply steamer downstream for it would give him "great joy" to be able to see his family again, when that sentiment was undoubtedly shared by every officer and enlisted man with the expedition. Godfrey loved luxury, had a keen appreciation of the finer things of life and was very conscious of the proprieties. In his dealings with the men under his command he seems to have been eminently fair and had an appreciation of the hardships that were the lot of the common soldier of the day. While he would not tolerate shirking nor neglect of duty—he was especially critical of

those officers who did allow it—he was very much concerned for the comfort and welfare of his men. He had no patience with either “glory-hunters” or “coffee-coolers”, he did his duty as he saw it without fanfare or apology, and he expected others to do the same.

Godfrey was born October 10, 1843, in Kalida, Putnam County, Ohio, the son of Dr. Charles Moore and Mary (Chambers) Godfrey. Due to parental opposition he served only briefly in the Civil War, being one of the so-called three-month volunteers who responded to President Lincoln’s first call for troops to subdue the rebellion. From April 26 to August 12, 1861, he was a member of Company D, Twenty-First Ohio Volunteer Infantry, which saw but brief action. He did not re-enlist, but the military spirit could not be extinguished and in 1863 he was given an appointment to the Military Academy at West Point by the Honorable James M. Ashley, then Representative in Congress and later Governor of Ohio. This appointment was secured by Godfrey’s own efforts, and it was not until the appointment was assured that the matter was mentioned at home and parental approval obtained. He entered the Academy in July, and after the usual trials and vicissitudes common to a cadet of that day, graduated on July 17, 1867. He was assigned to the newly activated Seventh Cavalry, then stationed at Fort Harker, Kansas.

He was almost constantly in the field with the regiment against the Indians of the Great Plains, made hostile by the ever-increasing intrusions of the white man into their choicest hunting grounds. On November 26 and 27, 1868, having been commissioned a First Lieutenant earlier in the year, he participated in the famous battle of Washita, in which the Cheyenne village of Black Kettle was destroyed. Lieutenant

Godfrey was assigned to destroy all captured Indian property, including the pony herd, a task that, despite his personal distaste, he carried out with the thoroughness that was to characterize his entire military career.

It must be noted here that the battle of Washita did much to enhance the popular renown of Custer and the Seventh Cavalry. But the engagement was also pregnant with disaster; there were those, both in the regiment and out, who accused Custer of having callously abandoned a portion of his command during the action. Some of the officers present neither forgave nor forgot, and the animosities here engendered were at least a contributing factor to the later disaster at the Little Big Horn.

On June 15, 1869, at Hayesville, Ohio, Lieutenant Godfrey was married to Miss Mary J. Pocock. To them were born four children, Guy C., Edward S., Mary, and David Ewing. Shortly after Godfrey's marriage his regiment was ordered south to the states of the late Confederacy to attend to the "Ku Klux trouble." Then followed five years of almost idyllic existence; there was little to do except pursue violators of the revenue laws, attempt to protect the newly enfranchised negroes in the enjoyment of rights to which Congress insisted they were entitled despite the objections of their former masters.

This duty came to an end in 1873 when ten troops of the regiment served as a part of the Yellowstone Expedition, under the command of Major General David S. Stanley, escorting the surveying parties of the Northern Pacific Railroad, exploring the valley of the Yellowstone River. This expedition met with the open hostility of the Sioux tribes whose hunting grounds were being invaded and treaty rights vio-

lated. During the summer of 1873 the regiment moved as far west as Pompey's Pillar, where, on August 4, a part of the Custer command was attacked by a small party of Sioux. On August 11 a part of the regiment had a brush with hostiles near the mouth of the Big Horn River and a running fight developed, in the course of which casualties were suffered on both sides.

The next year, 1874, the persistent reports of gold in the Black Hills resulted in a decision by the United States Government to investigate. Ten troops of the Seventh Cavalry, under Custer's command, were assigned to the reconnaissance. During this expedition, Lieutenant Godfrey, serving as an assistant to the engineering officer, gained a detailed knowledge of the topography and resources of the region.

From September, 1874 to April, 1876, he was again on duty in the Southern Department of the Division of Missouri in connection with the White League troubles. He was in command of troops at both Colfax, Louisiana, and McComb City, Mississippi, two states of the former Confederacy still occupied by Federal forces.

During 1875, the United States Government embarked on a new Indian policy based on force. An ultimatum ordering all Indians living in the unceded territory to come in to the agencies before the 31st of January went unheeded. The Interior Department then turned the matter over to the War Department, which immediately planned an expedition against the Sioux. In April, 1876, Brigadier General Alfred H. Terry, commanding the Department of the Dakotas, ordered the return to Dakota Territory of the companies of the Seventh Cavalry then in the South. Thus Lieutenant Godfrey was once again on the Northern Plains, and on May 17,

1876, in command of Company K, marched with the regiment on the most famous of all Indian campaigns.

In December, 1876, after the death of Captain Weir, Godfrey was commissioned Captain and assigned to the command of Company D. The next year, 1877, he participated in the campaign against the Nez Percé and was severely wounded at the Battle of Snake Creek in the Bear Paw Mountains. For "most distinguished gallantry" in action on this occasion, he was brevetted Major, and awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor. Recuperation from his wounds was slow but he was back on duty with his troops in 1878. The next year he testified before the Court of Inquiry called to investigate the conduct of Major Reno at the Little Big Horn.

During the next decade he served in various capacities: instructor in cavalry tactics at West Point, inspector of Indian supplies at Fort Yates and a member of the Tactical Board devising a new system of drill regulations. At his own request he was relieved of his duty with this Board in 1889 to join in the campaign against the Sioux under Big Foot. In this expedition he took part in the battles of Wounded Knee and Drexel Mission. Injuries, from which he never fully recovered, received in a train wreck while returning from this campaign, forced his assignment to various garrison duties.

In 1896 he was commissioned Major, served a month with the First Cavalry and was transferred back to the Seventh. 1897 found him in Arizona and New Mexico. Following service in Cuba he was made Lieutenant Colonel of the Twelfth Cavalry, February, 1901. In June he was promoted to Colonel of the Ninth Cavalry, a colored regiment, and sent to the Philippines, from whence he returned a year later. Until October, 1904, he commanded the regiment and post at

Fort Walla Walla, Washington. He retired in October, 1907, having last served as Brigadier General commanding the Department of the Missouri.

In addition to his services in the field, including four of the most famous Indian battles of the nation's history, the Washita, the Little Big Horn, Snake Creek and Wounded Knee, Godfrey had many other accomplishments to his credit. He was a member of the first government expedition to Yellowstone Park and the first United States army commander to make a field test of an army emergency ration. He is credited with such diverse accomplishments as establishing the Army Cooking and Baking School, and introducing "Cossack" and "Rough Riding" exercises into the cavalry training program.

Although the army did not accept Godfrey's proffered services during World War I, he was honored by being placed in command of the Legion of Honor section on the occasion of the burial of the Unknown Soldier. At the time of his death on April 1, 1932, in Cookston, New Jersey, he was the last survivor, save one, Colonel Charles Varnum, of the Little Big Horn.

Mrs. Mary Godfrey died in 1883, and on October 6, 1892, Godfrey married Ida D. Emley, who survived him. She donated many of his letters and papers to the Library of Congress. In editing the diary for publication we have used a microfilm copy furnished by the Library. We have compared this copy with a microfilm copy of the typescript prepared by William J. Ghent, but we have adopted none of his emendations or alterations. Godfrey's spelling, grammar, abbreviations and other peculiarities of style have been retained. To have done otherwise would have destroyed much of the flavor and value of the original. Where additions or interpola-

tions have been deemed necessary, they have been clearly indicated. Only those persons mentioned in the text who for some reason seemed of importance to the narrative have been identified in the notes.

This edition of Godfrey's *Diary* came largely as a by-product of the publication of *Custer's Luck* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1955), and is freely cited therein, although it was in fact almost entirely in manuscript before the publication of that volume. Walter Stanley Campbell, better known by his pen name of Stanley Vestal, Virginia Walton of the Montana State Historical Society, and Major Edward S. Luce, former Superintendent of the Custer Battle-field National Monument, a former member of the Seventh Cavalry and a leading authority on all matters pertaining to the Custer Fight, have all furnished a great deal of information. We are also grateful to the many others with special knowledge of particular aspects who aided in the preparation of this volume. However, our greatest debt of gratitude is to General Godfrey's two surviving children, Dr. Edward S. Godfrey, Jr., and Miss Mary Godfrey. Not only did they graciously give permission to reproduce and edit the diary, but they also aided in identifying many of the persons mentioned. For the imperfections that may appear we assume the sole responsibility.



OFFICERS' HEAD-DRESS, U. S. Cavalry, 1876

Lt. Godfrey's Diary

May 17 1876.

Our Route from Lincoln¹ was over the usual route in a westerly direction to the X ing² of 73 and 74.³ where we encamped on E. side. Good camp, wood & water. P.M. pd. troops. 12 miles. We found a bad crossing of Heart River on the 18th but made only about 10 miles & camped near Sweet briar.⁴ No wood within $\frac{1}{2}$ mile.

Diary of the Little Big Horn

19th.—kept on S. side of Sweet Briar; roads very heavy & camped on br. of Mud (?)⁵ roads heavy & just as we were going into camp hail storm some wagons did not get in till next a.m. no wd, no wat.⁶

20th. did not leave camp till late roads still heavy but improving, camp near forks of some stream, perhaps br. of Muddy (?)⁷ good grass, no wood.

21st. Camped on br. of Muddy water in holes; Wood some distance off on hills. Had Heart Butte & Twin Buttes⁸ in view nearly all day, very good march roads improving.⁹

22nd. camped Br. Knife River where we camped in '73 (opposite) six miles from Young Man's Buttes.¹⁰

23rd. marched to Y. M. Buttes¹¹—wood and water.

24. marched to forks of Heart River, 19 miles; good camp.¹²

25. X (crossed) N. Fk. Heart River & marched between forks & camped on branch of South Fork. [N.F. of Heart River to camp on creek. 19 $\frac{3}{4}$. Crossed our camp beside wood and water.]

26. Camped on a Br. of Heart River.

May 27. Left camp on branch of Heart River and went in southerly direction and struck the Bad Lands of the Little Mo. near Genl Stanley's trail, but through some oversight we crossed the trail & went two miles before the error was discovered. After waiting for about two hours, scouts were sent back to see if we had crossed it and in a short time they returned with the tidings that they had found it. We went down Davis Creek and camped about 2 miles from the entrance to the Bad Lands.

Got a mail this A. M.—two letters from my darlings. All well. Mary *struck* for higher wages.¹³

Diary of the Little Big Horn 3

May 28. Was Rear Guard today, but all the left flank (4) Cos. were in the Rear too. The train moved briskly for about three miles, and then work began on the crossings of the creek which runs from the Bluffs on one side to bluffs on the other; some seven (7) had to be constructed and then we went into camp. The 4th Battalion (Cos. G, K and M) had to go out & construct two (2) more crossings we made them in about two hours. Maguire¹⁴ superintended one and I the other. Spring near 8th crossing. Distance marched, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Made camp at 12. 30. Wrote to Mary expecting the mail to go out.

May 29th. Little Mo. Was in the advance today and had to build several crossings but had less work than we anticipated and got to the Little Mo. at 9:30¹⁵. The wagon train did not come in till an hour later. My Company was on picket duty & I had to go on a high Butte to post them. I was very tired, but found my tent occupied by poker players. I waited until 11 P.M., and told them they would have to *git* and they *got*. We marched today $6\frac{3}{4}$ miles.

May 30. Genl Custer with Cos C, D, F, & M went on a scout up the Little Mo. about 20 miles & returned without having seen any signs of Indians. Played cribbage with McIntosh and Jack Sturgis¹⁶ and wrote to Mamma. Rained in the evening.

May 31st. Didn't break camp today till 8 a.m. on account of tentage being wet. We crossed the Little Mo. without difficulty, and the train moved up the gorge which is about 2 miles long, very easily, one wagon upset. We were on the left flank of the train and moved along without any trouble. I think a good road could be made down the creek which empties above the gorge and in case of an attack the train could be

defended more easily. The valley seems like a smooth one. However, that can only be determined by an examination. We marched directly to the east foot of Sentinel Butte and then struck down a divide toward a branch of Anderson's Creek.¹⁷ The route was very circuitous and took us a number of miles out of our way. We were on Whistler's Trail.¹⁸ The best way I think would be to keep on the north side of both Sentinel Buttes. There is plenty of wood, water is doubtful except after a rain. Finished my letter to Mamma and wrote to Guysie¹⁹ and put them in the mail. Rained again tonight & got cold.

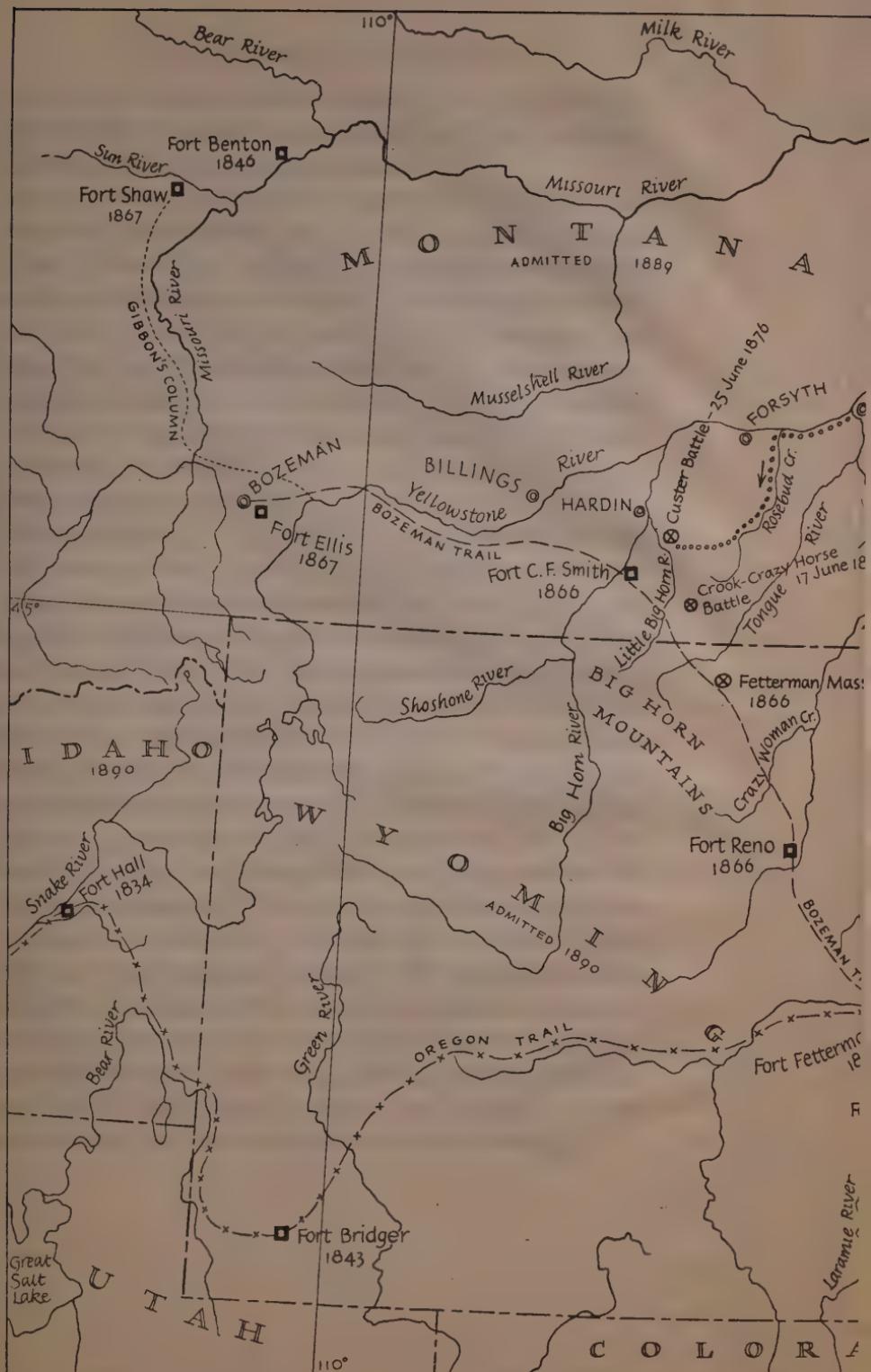
June 1st, 1876. Awoke at Reveille and found the ground covered with *snow* and it continued snowing more or less all day and was cold & disagreeable. We occupied the cook tent nearly all day. I finished Harper's monthly for May, 76.

We did not move camp on account of the snow.

June 2nd. Still snowing a little & cold. passed time about as yesterday. Had water kegs filled with snow water.

June 3rd. Broke camp at 5 am and followed stanleys 73 trail towards Beaver Creek.²⁰ I am convinced that it would have been better to have kept on the foot of Sentinel Buttes. the roads were very good smooth rolling country. We had to make some crossings on account of the snow water. Scouts from Genl Gibbon reported that he had not seen any body of Indians. Gibbon had had three (3) stragglers killed.²¹

June 4th. We moved up Beaver Creek today and made a good march made camp at the same place Genl Stanley did in 72 wood and water plenty.—Our march has been very circuitous, unnecessarily so too I think. We saw pretty fresh buf-falo signs and some pretty fresh Indian signs too. Company is picket company today and will have to post them. There



is absolutely a dearth of news or gossip. Genl Terry had Sun stroke today. Our road was good today and being on pioneer duty had only three crossings to make.

June 5th. We reached the Hd waters of Beaver Creek today and at 8:30 came upon the Bad Lands on the headers of Cabin Creek. Beaver Creek is different from the most of the streams and has no Bad lands on its headers. The bad lands here however are not serious and we got along finely we crossed one branch of Cabin Creek which had running water but very muddy and must be from the snows. We went two miles farther and went into camp near some pools good grazing & good water No wood No —— Today is Zoe's birthday.²² Many a happy return!

O'Fallon's Creek,²³ M.T. *June 6th.* Two of Benteen's²⁴ men who went out hunting yesterday a.m. and did not return last night. a beacon fire of sage brush was kept on a high hill hoping they might see it & be guided into camp. They joined us on the march today. An order was issued forbidding hunting parties to go out. We crossed two branches of O'Fallon's Creek one a running stream. We have a very convenient camp for wood & water and plenty of grass. O'Fallon's Creek is a running stream with large pools of water a little brackish.

June 7th. Powder River, M.T. We left camp at the usual hour and made a long detour down the creek and then followed up a branch of O'Fallon's Creek and then struck to the Divide of Powder River and followed that down several miles and then struck for the River. The Powder River hills are pretty high and are well wooded and afforded quite a relief to the monotony. We were unable to see the River or its line until within two miles of it. The road was very good for wagons with light loads but heavy loads would have consumed nearly two days and even more in bad weather.

June 8th. Powder River. We remained in camp today. Genl Terry with Keogh & Moylan's²⁵ cos. went to the mouth of the River. We are making preparations for an 8 day's scout, all cos Inf'y escort the train. Had eleven pack mules & saddles turned over today had considerable amusement with the raw mules—one I had two water kegs put on—over and away he went bucking & jumping until he got one off and the other was thrown from one side to the other—another trial with two sacks of grain and they were torn and he got rid of that load and broke the saddle. I had the aparejo & two boxes of ammunition [[put on]] and he succumbed without a struggle. We got a mail about 11 o'clock, one brought up by 'Far West.'²⁶ Everybody well and Dooley²⁷ improving—later in the day I got more mail and a letter from Genl Rice²⁸ informing me that he had gone to see Genl Sherman and Sec. Taft in my interest without my solicitation but not against my desires. however his mission was without success.

June 9th, 1876. Remained in camp today. Has been disagreeable & raining. Genl Terry came back late and preparations have been made for a Scout but we don't know how many Cos or what ones go out. We are ordered to carry 2 days rations & forage on horses, 100 rounds of carbine ammunition on person, six days rations & forage on pack mules: forage ration to be two pounds and two boxes of ammunition on the pack mule.

June 10th. Today orders have been issued for six Cos B, C, E, F, I & L (right wing) under Col. Reno²⁹ to go on a scout provided with 12 days rations and forage. It has been a subject of conversation among officers why Genl Custer was not in command but no solution yet has been arrived at. All Cos of the left wing have been ordered to turn over to the other

six Cos all rations but one day & four (4) pack mules & saddles. We have been ordered to accompany the wagon train down to the mouth of Powder River. Saw Porter³⁰ about the box of cake sent us by our wives & will get it for us. The right wing got off about 3 p.m.

June 11th. Broke camp late on a/c of rain. We had to let the canvass dry out. The roads were pretty heavy and some pretty difficult hills to contend with also my pack mules were of some trouble at first. But after three miles travel the train arrived on a level plateau and went swooping over so that I was rear gueard I got over three miles behind, waiting on the pack train. Got into camp at 7:30. 24 miles.

June 12. Remained at Powder River. Got a letter off Mary and Guy.

June 13, 14 & 15. Camp at Powder River.

June 16. 1 P. Left camp at 6 a.m. We had considerable trouble getting our packs ready but got them off in pretty good order. The first part of the day we had considerable trouble. They were all placed under charge of Lt. Hare³¹ and kept to the rear. We did not know much about packing but my own Co. got along better than most of them. The road (South side of Yellowstone) and I think by keeping about four or five miles from the river, where the bluffs first run into the River a wagon train could get along very well. We got into camp at 4:30 P.M. We lunched opposite Genl Stanley's Camp of '73 at 12 o'clock. Marched about 28 miles.

June 17. Raining this a.m. broke camp at 6 am. and reached Tongue River³² at 8:30 a.m. much sooner than I anticipated and went into camp and about 12 the boat came up.

June 18. The command remained in camp. I got permission from Genl Terry to go up on the boat to the mouth of Tongue

River. I spent a very pleasant day; played whist with Gibbs against Genl Terry & Machailes.³³ We were victorious, although I am sure they had the science on us.

June 19th. Remained in camp and played whist with Weir, Machailes & Edgerly.³⁴ Scouts came in this P.M. and reported Col. Reno coming up the Yellowstone about 8 or 10 miles. Great excitement among men.

The command moved up the Yellowstone to Tongue.

June 20. Broke camp at about 8 am. went up Tongue River a mile or two to cross and found a good ford. About 11:30 we reached Col. Reno's camp; soon after the boat came. Col. Reno's scout did not give any definite results. He went up the Powder River and over to Tongue and thence to Rose Bud.³⁵ He did not see any Indians or game³⁶ but reports a camp³⁷ about three weeks old of about 350 lodges. We broke camp at 4 P.M. I was Rearg'd and had anything but a pleasant time of it. We marched over the bluffs through some very *bad* lands and got into camp 11 p.m. had supper and retired. Distance (whole day), 25 miles.

June 21. Broke camp at 6 a.m. The Yellowstone looks very pretty with her wooded islands. We went into camp at 12:30. The 2nd Cav. marched up the opposite side of Yellowstone just as we went down the bluffs.³⁸ Saw Genl Gibbon & Brisbin³⁹ on boat—a conference was held and it was decided that our Regt move at 12 M tomorrow up the Rose Bud—the 2nd Cav. to X the Yellowstone at Fort Pease⁴⁰ and move up the Big Horn "Little" Horn.⁴¹ We had our Hard Bread assorted and everything preparatory to starting.

⁴²

June 24. While the officers were separating at the "Sundance" camp Genl Custer's guidon fell down to the rear. I

picked it up & stuck in the ground. Soon it fell again to the rear; this time I stuck it in some sage brush & ground so that it stuck. I never thought of it again till after the fight when my attention was called to it by Lt. Wallace⁴³ who seems to have regarded it as a bad omen.

July 22. We left the Yellowstone at 12 M with 15 days rations of Hard Bread, Coffee & Sugar & 12 days bacon. Genls Terry, Gibbon & Custer reviewed the Regt as we left camp. The comd marched in column of fours. The Packs gave a great deal of trouble and some broke down just as we were leaving camp. We marched up the left bank⁴⁴ of the Rose Bud about *12 or 14 miles* & went into camp about 4 P.M. After supper all officers reported at Hdqrs where we were informed that there would not be any more calls by trumpet that Reveille would be at 3 & move at 5. That marches would be of easy stages from 25 to 30 miles a day. I went to bed soon after the officers were dismissed, after giving orders and looking at herd.

I walked back with Wallace who said he believed Genl Custer would be killed as he had never heard him talk as he did, or his manner so subdued.

June 23. We got off from camp with our packs on time & everything went very smoothly—after marching about 8 miles we came across a very large village grounds and during the day we passed two more camps, all indicating a very large number of Indians. The valley of the Rose Bud is quite well wooded and generally a thick undergrowth of Rose bushes. The creek is well named. 33 or 35 miles.

June 24. We passed a very large camp about 7:30 and officers call was sounded. The poles of the Lodge for the "Sun Dance"⁴⁵ was standing. they had evidently had a big time—

also was found a whiteman's scalp not quite dry⁴⁶—It was estimated as consisting of three or four hundred lodges. The Crow scouts⁴⁷ were very active and were busy—went on carefully until sundown when we went into a camp and at 11:30 P.M. took up our line of march again and continued until about 2 o'clock when we halted to await the arrival of news from Lt. Varnum⁴⁸ & Crow scouts who had been sent ahead. After daylight we unsaddled and made coffee. About 8 a scout came with news that they had discovered a village and could see ponies & smoke,⁴⁹—although Varnum said he could not distinguish anything—We continued our march. Genl Custer came around personally and informed us that the Sioux village was in view.⁵⁰ I did not see Genl & so when told by Burckhardt⁵⁰ that he had been around & left that information I mounted & went to Hdqrs to hear the news. Bloody Knife⁵¹ was talking to the Genl & said we would find enough Sioux to keep us fighting two or three days. Genl remarked laughingly that he thought we would get through in one day. We took up our line of march to within a couple of miles of the Divide between "Rose Bud" & "Little Big Horn" when we halted and hid in a ravine. Soon after Col. Keogh came & reported that Sergt. Curtiss⁵² had seen an Indian getting hard bread from a box that had been lost during the night. The Indian ran away when he saw the Sergt and party. The Crow scouts had seen some Indians also and thought they had seen the dust of the command and were aware of our presence in the country. Tom Custer⁵³ went immediately to inform Genl what had been seen and Genl came to where we were in bivouac. The Genl had been with the Crow scouts on the watch while we were in camp Genl had officers call sounded—We were informed of what had hap-



INDIAN SCOUTS WATCHING CUSTER'S ADVANCE
from CENTURY MAGAZINE (New Series), VOLUME XXI

pened and that the impression was about 15 miles off and that we would start immediately. Co commanders were authorized to have six men & 1 N. C. O. with the packs and that Cos would move out in the order of reports of Co. Commdrs that their Cos were ready. I went to see if everything was ready & I reported just as McIntosh reported but Cook recognized him first & so I came in No. 10. I thought I certainly would be of the advance but some Co. Comdrs reported without seeing to anything and so got the lead. After we arrived at the summit of the Divide between Rose Bud & L.B. Horn I received an order to report to Col. Benteen for duty with his Battln. He was ordered to scout toward the L.B.H. and above the creek valley down which the main command of Genl Custer was marching—After wandering among the hills without any probability of accomplishing anything we went into the valley [Col. Benteen received a note from Col. Cook that the village was in front & to bring up the packs]⁵⁴ I did not hear any firing and when we passed an old village⁵⁵ I concluded from the age of the trail that we had a march of 18 to 20 miles before we would reach any village and that they would have seen us. This was about four miles from where the village was located. soon after we passed the old village camp we watered our horses.⁵⁶ This was about 2 o'clock pm. After we watered we continued our march very leisurely.—not long after watering the trumpeter brought the note from Col. Cook above noted (in brackets)⁵⁷ and we increased our gait. We heard occasional shots and I concluded the fight was over that had nothing to do but go up and congratulate the others & help destroy the plunder. The firing became more distinct, and we increased out gait—a sergeant of one of the companies passed us & remarked

"We've got them boys"⁵⁸ I thought all was over & that it could only have been a small village to be over so soon. We soon came in sight of the valley of Little Big Horn River⁵⁹ and its wide bottom was covered with horsemen who I at first thought to be our own command.

I saw a company on the hills which I supposed to be there for picket duty while the others were destroying the village. Some Crow Indian scouts⁶⁰ came up over the hills driving a herd of ponies and soon came to us and I asked by signs which way we could go down to the bottom or get to the command. he motioned to go to the right, and I told Col. Benteen so we went that way a short distance and soon came to where Col. Reno with his Cos A, G and M were. Hare soon came up & said that Cos M, A, & G had charged over the plain that they had a big fight in the woods above the village and were whipped out that they were obliged to cut their way through and were "d——d glad to see us." we formed a dismounted skirmish line along the crest of the bluffs where we afterwards intrenched ourselves. Singular to us it appeared that they made no demonstration against us. We were watching anxiously for our pack train with the reserve ammunition for the three Cos had expended nearly all they had on their persons in the woods below—in the meantime Col Reno sent one Co.⁶¹ to some bluffs lower down to look for Genl Custer. We heard volley firing and the rattle of the guns. The Co returned soon after without any tidings of Genl Custer—we thought it very strange that he did not make his way back to us. So, soon after the packs got up we mounted and moved towards where Genl Custer was supposed to be. We got on some very high bluffs and large numbers of Indians were seen on some bluffs about two miles away but the firing had

of General

ceased except an occasional shot. Upon our appearance at the bluffs the Indians directed their attention towards us, and large numbers almost immediately ran toward us—on their approach it was evident they meant business and Col Benteen suggested that we get back to the place where we first threw out skirmishers so as to throw ourselves into position to receive them and protect our stock. The packs were moved and all Cos except Weir, French & mine. Weir & French were on a very high ridge, I was along the crest of the bluffs toward the river. I was dismounted.⁶² As soon as Weir & French began their retreat the Indians followed to the high point and I received orders to mount and move in to the camp. I had not gone far when I saw the Indians would make sad havock in the other Cos unless checked, so I dismounted & formed skirmish line for their protection while they retreated into the lines. and sent my led horses in. The fire of the Indians was very hot, and they sent many a bullet among us but fortunately none of us were hit. Of D and M two or three wounded & one killed who fell in the hands of the enemy.⁶³ a number of horses were wounded. I got an order to fall back to the lines and in so doing the line of skirmishers began to go a little faster & faster and to get into groups I halted them & cautioned that the Indians had a better chance to hit them. Another attempt & the same result soon followed when I halted them then again, as I was determined to not let them have any panic—many had not been under fire before. We retreated again & got into the lines & laid down—soon the Indians followed to the ridge my presence outside had protected, and we gave them a reception with such warmth that they did not attempt again to come nearer than the ridge in numbers or mounted—We all knew that it meant a siege for

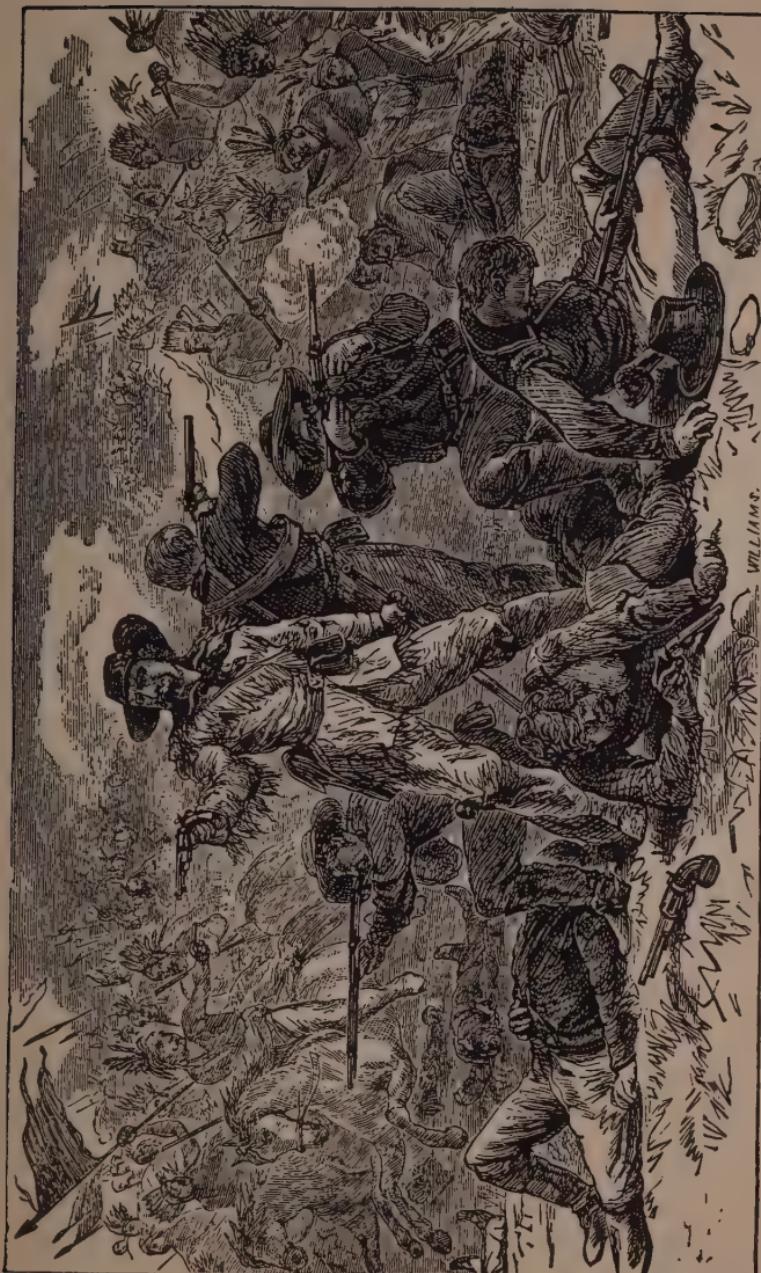
a time at least and so the best was done for our horses & packs. They were put in a ravine and a skirmish line formed on three sides of it and the Indians seeing the openness of the fourth side got to where they could shoot directly into the herd—The packs were then unloaded and used for a breastwork, and Moylans Co was inside of it. Benteen was on the crest of the bluffs on the upper side of the camp “B” co was on his right lower down and the line continued from left to right, “M”, G, D, and my Co was interpolated with the last three when I came in from the Skr. line—everybody was required to be on their bellies or to lie close to the ground and the bullets came thick & fast. I felt that I ought to reassure the men however and so I kept moving about the lines, Hare & Edgerly asked me several times to lie down—I was standing over Sergt Winney,⁶⁴ talking to somebody & giving orders when a bullet went through him. He gave a quick convulsive jerk, said “I am hit” and looked at me imploringly. I told him to lie down & be quiet until the fusillade was over when I would have him taken to the hospital & he turned as if to do so, threw his weight on his elbows and was dead. This was the first time since 1861 that I had seen a man killed in battle yet I felt cool & unconcerned as to myself. Burckhardt, my cook, was directly in rear of Sergt Winney begged me to “Please lie down, Lieut.; you will get hit, Please, sir, lie down & I did so; I found the Sergt was dead. I went back to a place immediately in rear of the line. I was obliged to give my attention to the use of ammunition; if allowed the men would fire all the time at random. I also found my movements were attracting the attention of the Indians and that I was endangering others—As soon as I laid down I said my prayers & went to sleep a vigorous fire by the Indians wakened me; we made

a sally and every man but one of D co. moved out of the line.—We drove back the Indians and took our⁶⁵ position again. The "D" Co man was killed directly after the troops laid down. How I did wish Genl Custer would return. It looked very much like a siege and as a matter of course our thoughts turned to the future—It was my opinion we ought to fold up our tents and silently steal away. Col Weir came to where I was and we talked the matter over my reasons for moving were that I thought Genl Custer was below us and we could join him that we had no water & a few wounded; that we would have our casualties & burdens increased on the morrow—that I did not think the Indians would force an engagement during the night. We both thought that to Col Benteen we must look for the wisdom to deliver us from our situation or defend us as it was evident that Col Reno carried no vigor nor decision, and his personal behavior gave no confidence in him.⁶⁶

The firing ceased from the Indians at dark, and I made the men go to work digging out pits. The ground was very hard clay and it was with great difficulty we got them finished. I had my packs & bedding brought from the "corral" or herd and made into a barricade⁶⁷ where Mr. Hare & myself laid down & slept. We opened a can of California Pears and they were very refreshing. A few shots were fired during the night and scouts were ordered out to open communication with Genl Custer but returned saying the country was covered with Sioux. A visit to the Hospital made in the evening was very sad. There were quite a number of horses & mules killed. The Indians got the range of the herd from a ridge about four hundred yards off and did considerable execution. It was at my suggestion that "D" Co was moved down to

cover the line opposite the River. Our troops did not do as much firing as ought to have been done so that their range was pretty accurate and their aim not at all disturbed. I thought we were a little too niggardly of our ammunition⁶⁸ and determined tomorrow to have good shots do some work. I wished very much for Pvt Clear⁶⁹ who was one of the best shots & was killed while with Mr. Hare, with Col Reno. We have not had any water since we got into position and am quite dry. I have kept my cigar out of my mouth and kept the men from using tobacco as much as possible.

Monday, June 26, 1876. The firing began at an early hour, before it was fairly daylight, by the Indians and according to determination by my men to let them know we were on hand—I permitted different men of the Co. to fire at times—I watched with interest & amusement how some would aim. I generally told them what range to fire at and afterwards only allowed the best shots to fire. Pvts. Madden & Lasley⁷⁰ were about the coolest and best shots. About 11 I sent a detail with canteens to get water. They were not successful but learning that Col Benteen would send a detail down under cover of his fire—another detail was made. I did not eat anything this morning until about 9 o'clock when I got very hungry & felt exhausted. I happened to think of some raw potatoes I had in a sack & tried one with some hard bread—I found it quite a relief and gave some out. I got a sip of water from Wallace who had his canteen filled. My detail came back after an hour's absence with some canteens & said the rest had been taken at the hospital; also that Pvt. Madden was wounded with his leg broken. I sent a detail to get him up from the River near which he was placed but they were not permitted to go down. The Indians kept up a very heavy fire



CUSTER'S LAST BATTLE

from the LIFE OF SITTING BULL AND HISTORY OF THE INDIAN WAR OF 1890-1891, by W. FLETCHER JOHNSON

on all who went after water. After about 3 P.M. there was very little firing, except at this place but all had to hold the trenches. Pvts Corcoran & Mielke⁷¹ were wounded during the day. Pretty early in the morning they made quite a determined advance on both sides of camp and kept a pretty vigorous fire from the hills too—We met them on one side by a heavy fire and they retired, on Col Benteens line they kept advancing until they got almost to the top of the hill when Col Benteen charged his men on them & drove the Indians back. Soon after Col Benteen came over & asked for more men—I expected my Co to be sent over but French was sent over.⁷² both Co's had a good many wounded men. Col Benteen ordered us to charge although Col Reno was then on the line—Col Reno went with us and ordered us back to the trenches before we had gone twenty yards as the firing became very warm & there was no breast work to hide behind. But still it had its effect and we kept up a pretty warm fire too. About 7 P.M. we saw the Indian village moving. It was or seemed to be about 3 miles long by $\frac{3}{4}$ wide and very closely packed. It was about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from where we were. They did not seem to be in any haste and moved off orderly, a few remained in the bottom out of our range until nearly dark. We surmised that their ammunition was giving out and they intended to move their village to a safe distance and on 27th to make a more vigorous assault or else that Genl Custer was coming to our assistance with reinforcements.⁷³ We moved our lines at dark to a more advantageous point & where our stock would be under better protection and where we could get water. We endeavored to get our stock down to the river that night but no place was found where it was practicable.⁷⁴ I got a cup of coffee with French & after seeing the

men at their work in the pits I went to bed with Wallace & Hare in my pit. I had not had my clothes off for three days & I felt tired, worn, dirty & sleepy.

June 27, 1876. I was awakened by the reveille and felt better to know that at daylight the Indians did not fire the morning guns. I had coffee & breakfast prepared—the stock attended to. no settled purpose seems to have been made. we feel that something has disturbed the Indians but the direction taken does not show that Gen Crook.⁷⁵ About 9 a.m. whilst discussing the probabilities it was the general opinion that the Indians had some kind of a trap or had run out of ammunition. It was intended to send out couriers to communicate with Genl Terry who was supposed to be coming up to the mouth of the Little Horn. These couriers had been sent out last night but came back saying that the Sioux were still about the camp and would not go out. No Indians have been seen—a few ponies are to be seen grazing below in the bottom. About 9:30 a cloud of dust was seen several miles below camp, and everybody was called to his place. the horses were taken into the ravine between the lines and I sent camp kettles, canteens, etc., to the river to have them filled—preparations were made that we might be prepared in case it should prove they were Indians. An hour of suspense was passed when it was finally settled they were our own troops. The speculation was rife as to whose column it was. we looked in vain for a company of white horses so we gave up that it was Genl Custer and thought that it might be Genl Crook,⁷⁶ but a *hearty cheer* went up from the throats of our gallant men, for we knew we were delivered from our foes. Soon a scout came up with a note from Genl Terry to Genl Custer saying some [of] our Crow scouts gave the information that we

were whipped and nearly all killed. that he did not believe the story but he was bringing medical assistance. This note was written on 26th and the scout⁷⁷ said he could not get in to our camp the night before as the Sioux were on the alert. At reveille Lt. De Rudio came into camp.⁷⁸ he had been in the woods in river bottom for two days. His horse got away from him as the Cos were coming out of the fight under Col Reno and he was obliged to take refuge in the woods—with him were F. Girrard, interpreter,—Jackson, a half breed scout & Pvt. O'Neal, Co. G.⁷⁹ During the first night Girrard & Jackson who were mounted got separated from the others but all got in O.K.

Lt. Bradley⁸⁰ 7th Infy came up next & made inquiry as to how I was from some of our fellows & soon I met him. The first thing I asked was where Genl Custer was and he told me he did not know but supposed him killed, as he had counted 197 bodies he did not think any of them had escaped. I was dumbfounded—for indeed there did not seem to be any hope except that some of them had cut their way through to the prairie and gone down the River. The three Crow scouts had given correct information as to Genl Custer's column. It did seem so impossible. Genl Terry & staff soon came upon the scene & was greeted with hearty cheers by all. Scarcely a word was spoken by the officers, but a heart shake gave token of our thankfulness for relief, and our silence spoke deeper than words our grief for the dead. The oppressiveness of our situation was fully realized and tears filled nearly every eye. The rest of the day was spent in making preparations to take the wounded down below where the command was encamped. I went down & met a number of officers of cav & Infy while down with the wounded. Sergt Madden⁸¹ has his leg cut off.

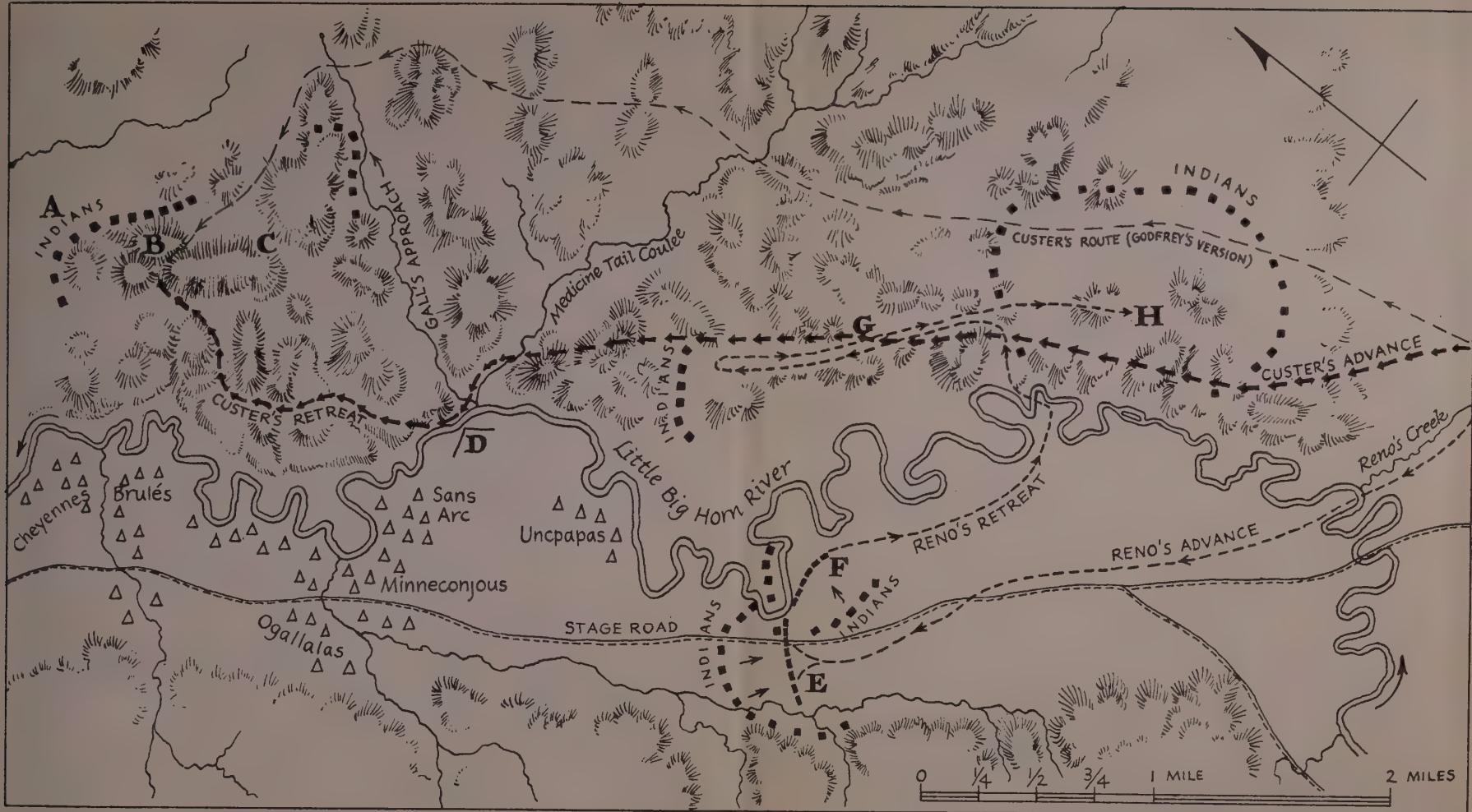
June 28th. We broke camp and went to the scene of Genl Custers disaster for the purpose of burying the dead. We found the bodies strewn from a few hundred yards of the ford up to a ridge. We buried as nearly as I can count 212 bodies including Genl Custer, whose face & expression was natural. Tom Custer, Cook,⁸² & Riley⁸³ were all the officers I recognized. Others recognized Yates, Keogh, Calhoun, Crittenden & Smith.⁸⁴ The bodies of Porter, Jack Sturgis, Harrington & Dr. Lord⁸⁵ were not recognized. While the bodies were being buried I went to right about 1 1/2 miles to see if I could discover any more bodies. I thought I traced the tracks of our horses but everything indicated a pursuit—that is a rapid march.⁸⁶ I found a gray horse⁸⁷ with an Indian bridle, halter & lariat. The horse had a tuft of grass toed in his mouth to keep him from neighing. *I took him in.*—We marched through the village and camped below the other troops.

June 29, We remained in camp [till evening and Xed Little Big Horn & went into camp at Retreat ([]) mustered]

June 30. Crossed the L.B.H. in afternoon & camped & mustered. In the evening we took up our march for the mouth of Little Big Horn and got to the boat at 2:30 a.m. Sent a dispatch via Ellis.⁸⁸

July 1st. Left L.B.H. & marched down Big Horn 20 miles—route *very* rough—impracticable for wagons.

July 2nd. Continued our march down followed the divide between B.H. and Tullock's creek.⁸⁹ Very good cav. road but impracticable for wagons. a wagon train would be obliged to go up on left side of B.H. or follow Tullocks 26 miles & crossed on Stean boat to old Battle ground of Big Horn of '73.⁹⁰



Reproduced by permission from *Custer's Luck*, published by the University of Oklahoma Press, 1955.

This map is based on one made by Lt. Edward S. Godfrey, whose conception of the Custer route is indicated in light arrows. Heavy arrows show the route of Custer's advance and retreat according to early accounts by Indian eyewitnesses. The latter route is deemed more probable by Edward S. Luce (in the official pamphlet distributed by the Custer Battlefield National Monument), George E. Hyde (in *Red Cloud's Folk*), and the author. Custer was last seen (by Reno's men) on an elevation before he entered Medicine Tail Coulee and descended to the Minneconjou Ford (D); there he turned for some reason and retreated to Custer Ridge (B). At approximately the time of Custer's fight at the ford, Reno began his retreat, freeing many warriors for the final battle with Custer.

The Battle of the Little Big Horn (June 25, 1876)

- a) Crazy Horse's attack
- b) final positions on Custer Ridge of Capt. Tom Custer, Capt. Yates, Lt. Smith, and Lt.-Col. Custer
- c) near-by positions of Capt. Keogh and Lt. Calhoun
- d) Minneconjou Ford
- e & f) Major Reno's first and second positions
- g) Capt. Weir's reconnaissance attempt to locate Custer
- h) bluff to which Reno retreated and where he, Capt. Benteen, and the rest of the command spent the night of June 25.

Wrote to ⁹¹ mail to leave on boat for Lincoln with dispatches—

July 3rd. We got quite⁹² a mail today of papers. The letters we got yesterday. *all well.* The boat left at noon. Col Smith went down with dispatches & Baker with his Co as escort⁹³—I gave him my letters to Darlings. We found one of the Crow scouts⁹⁴ who was with Genl Custer's command⁹⁵ who says all our men fought to the death and describes Cook horse & says he was the bravest man he ever saw. He says no man escaped but himself, that a number were killed some distance from the main command.⁹⁶ Called on 2nd Cav. Lts. Schofield & McClelland⁹⁷ called this evening. It turns out that nearly all the Ree scouts⁹⁸ have returned to Powder River & safe.

July 4th.—All quiet today; no news,—no excitement. I wrote out an application on 3rd for a transfer to L Co & handed it to Col Reno who declined to approve for the reason that some body would be promoted, but finally said he would transfer me if any body was transferred who was not in the fight. I shall expect the Co. as Braden⁹⁹ will hardly be retired although he has been ordered before the retiring board—I withdrew my application.

July 5. Nothing new during day. In evening we were invited to Genl Terrys for a sing—After a pleasant social evening we visit 2nd Cav where the society was more convivial & kept it up till 12 midnight when we went to bed.

July 6. Some Crow Indians came in from Crow camp at Pryors Fork¹⁰⁰ & said Genl Crook had had a fight with Indians on Tongue River on 17 & got turned back,—lost 19 m & 2 officers¹⁰¹—the Crows all left them.

July 7th. A courier was dispatched to Genl Crook on 6th. Horse came in today.

July 8th. The courier returned having lost everything swimming Big Horn. he saw about 40 Indians—¹⁰²

July 9th. Got a letter from Mamma who says all well. The Indians attacked Lincoln & drove the cattle away from Rice.¹⁰³ The letter was written on 24 & the fight took place on 25. Am officer of the Day. Lt. Bradley left this a.m. for Ellis.

Monday, July 10th. Visited pickets. Ball's co.¹⁰⁴ of 2nd came in from a scout to Pompeys Pillar. He did not see any Indian signs but the Crows are moving down nearer to us—Saw the account of Crooks fight on 17th of June in N.Y. Herald of 24 from it appears he was some what worsted. We all consider that we were very lucky in not being gobbled up whilst intrenched.

Tuesday. July 11. We recd orders to have 100 rounds of ammunition issued to each man and carry 100 rds on the mules. I find I can carry only six days rations on mules & no forage. Have been writing a letter to Mamma in anticipation of a mail.

*Tuesday July 12.*¹⁰⁵ nothing transpired during the day till 6:30 pm an orderly brought an order to move at 7 am tomorrow. as soon as the orderly had delivered the message the "General"¹⁰⁶ sounded and we packed & moved 1/2 mile down the river for better grass. After we got here everybody was in an ill humor about the camp the bottom is broken up into a dust-heap—We've not had any rain for several weeks & the ground is very dry.

Wednesday, July 12th, 1876. Read Mrs. Victor's sketches of Oregon & Washington—Got information that a mail would leave for Ellis, but I don't think Ill send that way. 8 p.m. Just learned that a mail would go down the river to Powder

River in two hours. I hurriedly finished my letters to Mamma & Father also wrote Corpl Nolan¹⁰⁷ to send my trunk & some stationary by boat & report how many boxes of ammunition were shipped by boat. I cannot find any at all in the pile of ordnance. After I got my letters sealed I went over to put in the mail. Capt Ball, Lts. Hamilton & Roe & Dr. Paulding¹⁰⁸ were at Hdqrs & several of our officers congregated & we had a very pleasant time singing until 11:30 perhaps a little later.

July 13 Thursday Read in "Oregon" etc and then went a fishing after an hours fish went in the river bathing. The water is still very cold—caught one *little* fish—soon after lunch a thunder storm gave us about $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{2}{3}$ in of rain—which refreshes the atmosphere and laid the dust took a ride to the boat & after retreat walked down again. Nothing new.

Friday July 14. Great crowds of grasshoppers have made their appearance and seem to be traveling down the river. A number of Crow Indians are looked for tomorrow. Took a walk down to the boat and walked about to see her defences. The Pilot House is surrounded with 1'5 in oak, and there are cottonwood logs laid¹⁰⁹ parallel & against the steam pipes. Cottonwood logs are placed vertically about the engineers stand—The cabin is really the most dangerous part to remain in in case of an attack by Indians as the thin pine boards would give little or no protection except to hide. A most terrific thunderstorm after dark.

Saturday July 15th. The Crow scouts were about the camp early. Visited Col. Benteen & Capt. Sanno,¹¹⁰ 7th Infy. saw Sergt. Becker's map¹¹¹ of the Battle field. That part of the map showing Genl Custer's force may be correct but that representing the siege ground is not correct. He showed me

where there had been camped, or supposed, the Arapahoes.¹¹² It was on three sides of a square the fourth side being filled in by the lodges of the chiefs. It was cut out of the woods and seems was not seen by any one else and in it were the bodies of three (3) whites.

Capt. Machailes, Ord. off. came up to camp with a dispatch from Genl Sheridan dated July 8, Phila. recd at Bozeman M.T., July 12. The couriers brought the mail down too & came in a boat, yawl or skiff. 6 cos. of (5th Infy)?¹¹³ are ordered from Dept. of Mo. & he has applied for 6 cos of the 22nd.

Went down to the boat. There I found them unloading and that it would start down the river tomorrow for Bismarck. All this in consequence of Genl Sheridan's dispatch. *Sunday, July 16th, 1876.* Got up & had breakfast at 7 am. Wrote to Mamma & Mage Rice. Gave Mage a short a/c of the battle and twitted him on our enormous army & expressed the hope that if the army should be reduced "Lineal promotion" be made one of the provisions and congratulated him on his renomination & hoped for his reelection which is pretty sure. Wrote to Mamma that I thought we would be out a long time & she had better go home & see the folks. I enclosed a check for \$25385 on 1st National Yankton, D.T. Asked Col Reno if he objected to my going down to Lincoln "Yes! if we find where Crook is we'll go to him.", it would have given me great joy to have gone down & seen my darlings.

The boat got off about 11:30 a.m. Genl Terry, Col. Burton went down to meet Far West & Sanger & Moylan to Powder River to bring up wagon train—went to Genl Gibbons tent & read Army and Navy Journal & debate on army appropriation. The action is disheartening. A number of officers 2nd Cav. came down & we had a *jolly* sing.

Monday, July 17. This is the anniversary of my first fight, at "Scareytown, W. Va." 1861.¹¹⁴—Wrote to Hale¹¹⁵ today—a mail came in with a letter of 4th inst from darling Mamma & one of 25 ult. from Sister Eva. They had not heard of battle of 25 & 26. All well & confident that if we struck the Indians we would beat them worse than Gen Crook did. *L'homme propose et Dieu dispose.*" *He* willed otherwise than they thought. Visited Hdqrs saw Dr. Williams, Thompson Genl Gibbon &c. a despatch from E. W. Smith for Genl Terry was opened by Genl Gibbon which says the distress at Lincoln was indescribable and heartrending. That the country was ablaze with indignation that such a disaster should occur, & that the campaign would be carried on, &c.

Tuesday, July 18. Reported as officer of the day—a mail came in from Ellis with Montana papers of 13th and 14th from which there appears to be great excitement & indignation on a/c of our defeat & the country alive to the necessities of our little army. It seems that the Senate will pass the appropriation bills as passed by the House. The conference may now agree to strike out the army reduction.

Wednesday July 19/76. Went with horses over on Island at 7 am. I found the herders had gonr & made them return & report in compliance with orders. This was done as a lesson, but was disapproved by Col Reno. Came home for lunch at 1 P.M. & heard that Capt. Thompson, 2nd Cav. had committed suicide at 5:30 a.m. he was buried at 6:30 p.m. He had been suffering from disease, consumption, the germs of which were laid in "Libby" Prison, Va. during the war. He had been sick two days.

I got some papers from Genl Gibbon Cinnti Com.¹¹⁶ Walked home with Edgerly who wants me to write to Mrs.

G. to send word to Mrs. E. when she goes East & to stop with her.

Thursday—July 20 / About 1 am was awakened by shots; had company fall in & marched out to where stable guard was & learned that two or more Indians had passed near there. They were going slow but when challenged laid whip & skipped out. I had the horses brought in. This morning McConnell¹¹⁷ brought my lariat, it was cut in two places with a knife. He said the horses were loose when he went out & Dandy was coming to the picket line followed by the pony. They were both hobbled or they would have been taken away. The Indians continued on down the line & passed by the lower picket. Pretty severe headache but walked to 2nd Cav.; and returned papers to Genl Gibbon. Indians saw tracks of about 30 hostiles.

Friday July 21, 1876. Awakened with a severe headache. Ate a light breakfast and loafed at Tom McDougall's tent. Headache continued until evening, when I felt better, but my head was sore & in the evening went over to Col Reno's & read Genl Gibbons letter in which he takes a good deal of credit to himself for getting up to our command. Genl Brisbin was there too. He is a great talker.

Saturday. July 22. Ordered to move today to change camp to about 1 mile below Fort Pease—Moved at 3:30 p.m. about 3 miles *towards home* to a much safer & comfortable camp—The bluffs are about 1 mile off. Soon after getting into camp the Crows saw several Indians on the bluffs & mounted, gave chase but soon came back, the Sioux having "vamosed."

Went up to Regtl Hdqrs where we had a *sing* & pleasant social time till 11:30. Lots of mosquitoes.

Sunday, July 23. This is the Holy Sabath Day, but all work

goes on the same, no variation; had a bower built over my tent & find it adds greatly to comfort; Capt. Wheelan, Lts. Hamilton, Doane & Low with 2 cos 2nd Cav., a battery of Artillery & 25 Crows went out on a scout to meet Moylan.

Monday, July 24. Began a letter to Guy—It rained from about 4:30 pm till after dark—A scout came in from Genl Terry who is on the Far West—He says he has no word from Crook. The boat ought to be here tomorrow. Col. Reno was placed in arrest by Genl Gibbon. Capt. Sanno 7th Inf'ty is in arrest also.

Tuesday, July 25. One of the pickets was drowned this a.m. whilst going out to his post a ravine had about 3 feet of water when he came to his Breakfast. but when he went back there was nearly 10 feet of water & swift—he could not swim & it seems he was thrown from his horse—Col Reno got a copy of charges against him. It all comes from Col R sending out some scouts as videttes Saturday eve after we got into camp. I presume however Col Reno's manner has as much to do with the results, as his manner is rather aggressive & he protested against the scouts being taken from the Reg't.

The scouts came back from Gen. Crook¹¹⁸ [three (3) soldiers Co E 7th Inf & 4 Crows] who had left him on 23 Genl Crook was 15 miles from Fort Kearney waiting for the 5th Cav. to join him—he has supplies to Sept 30th; has been reinforced by 5 cos Inf'ty, Genl Carr¹¹⁹ 5th Cav captured 2 or 3 wagons of ammunition (escorted by 150 Indians) en route from Agcy to Hostiles. Wheelan came back having met the boat—The boat will be in tomorrow—Called on Sanno & several 7th foot gentlemen and then went down to Genl Gibbons tent—Genl Crook has not had a fight except having his pickets engaged & by scouting parties. One of his cos

went out 23 miles, became engaged on foot with one party—another party however got in their rear & stampeded their horses & they had to foot it back. They were of the 3rd Cav.¹²⁰

Wednesday—July 25. Genl Terry arrived on boat Far West. I went down & was handed a letter by Mr. Burleigh, Clerk of boat. Col. Burton also had my paper mail. 2 boxes of cigars (one for Hare) sent by my “darling” Genl Terry told me of their trip & time it took to cross over the train over three days part of the time with two boats. I read part of Mamma’s letter & put it up. I could not compose myself enough to read it on the boat so waited till I got to my tent. All was excitement about the Press news and opinions. I was reported to the Chicago Times as of the dead probably through [Unintelligible] Old Joe Tilford,¹²¹ who seems to have been the informant & the news may [have] come from St. Louis.

Thursday—July 27th. We broke camp at 10:30 & marched down the river about 5 miles crossed two bad ravines which had to be bridged. Dept. Hdqrs & Staff went down on the boat—we camped at the foot of the Ft. Pease bottom. Excellent grass. I marched on Off. Day yesterday & had two alarms today by the crows who were out hunting. Low, Doane and Roe visited me during the evening & we talked about West Point.

Friday July 28. Reveille at daylight. Infty & 2nd Cav. moved at 5:30, we at 7:30 The train had to take to the table land & experienced some difficulty getting up the hill. Our progress was very slow on a/c of the Diamond R teams which moved like a water wagon train.¹²² The teams are eight mules & two wagons coupled together. I think it requires an ex-

ceptionally good driver but fewer drivers are required. The weight is distributed over more surface, but again the weight is well behind the mules. We got to the Little Porcupine at 12¹²³ where we lunched & after marching about 4 or 5 miles went into camp on the bank of the Yellowstone good camp—Marched

Saturday—July 29, 1876. Broke camp at 5 am; took to the bluffs. Some hills about 2½ miles from River are well timbered with pine—there is a similar cluster about 35 miles above the Big Horn on N. bank of Yellowstone we crossed the Great Porcupine which is a running stream pebbled bottom 20 yds wide. About 5 miles further went into camp at foot of bottom. good camp. wood 22½ miles

Sunday. July 30. Broke camp at 5:15 a.m. & took to the bluffs again; at the foot of the bluffs is a very good spring, clear & cold. The day promises to be sultry & hot.

A good many of the 2nd Cav & 7th Inf'ty are being taken sick on a/c of lack of vegetables. They require "anti-scorbutics." Was at Lt. Roe's last evening Dr. Paulding told me there were 32 of 2nd Cav. sick since leaving Big Horn on 27th. When four or five miles from camp Corp'l Nolan came out to meet us. Also "Dr." Stein. Gibson¹²⁴ lunched with us today and after lunch we moved ahead & went into camp. I went down to the boat to get my trunk but it could not be found—I got my tents stoves & things. It is quite an improvement on a Dog tent to have a place to stand up in while dressing. Corp'l Nolan found my trunk & we are informed that a mail will leave in half an hour. Surely not much time to write a letter.

July 31st. Laid about camp fixing up—have good healthy meals and appetites too.¹²⁵

Tuesday, August 1, 1876. About noon the Str. Carroll came up with 6 Co's of the 22nd Infy, Lt. Col. Otis¹²⁶ commd'g. Capts. Dickey, Clarke, Goodloe, Hooten, Poole, Lts. Conway, Kell, Casey,¹²⁷ Dykman and others on board. After welcoming all we asked Goodloe, Kell, Casey & Dykman to dinner. Sent horses down for them. Burckhardt spread himself on the layout and we had a right sociable time of it.

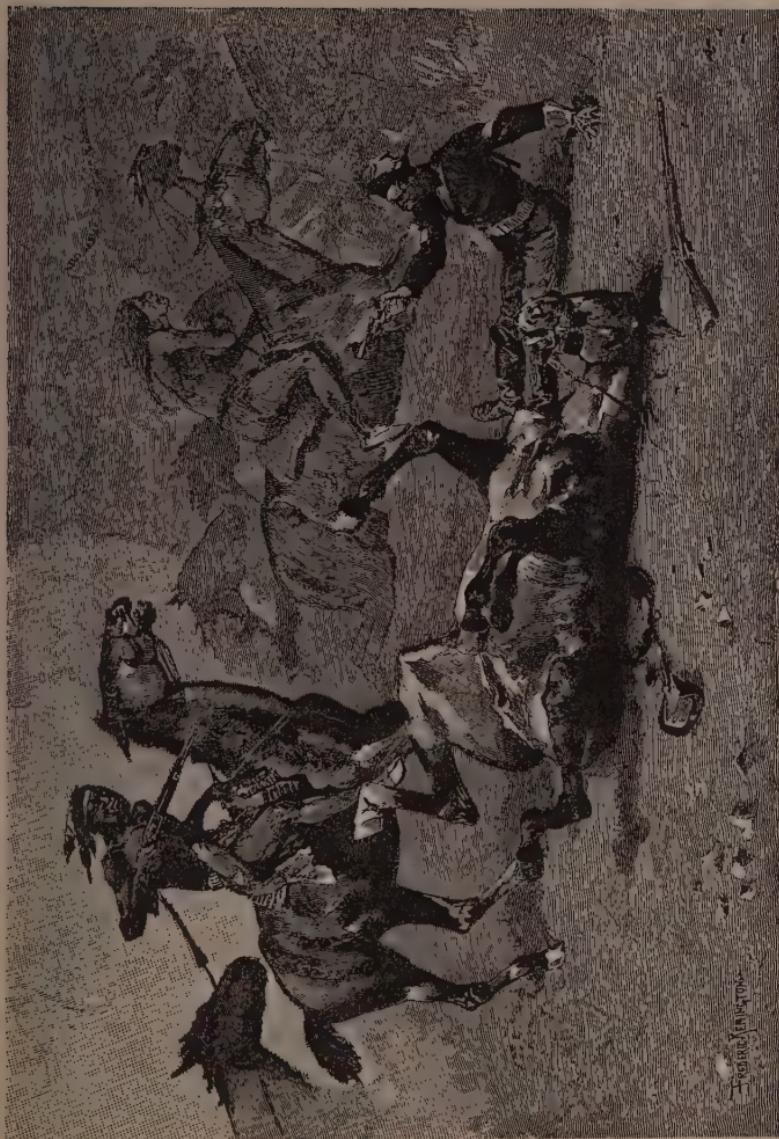
In the evening went down to the 22nd camp & spent the eve with them. Got a lot of papers.

Wednesday. Aug. 2nd. After the troops were paid I wrote a letter to my darling, made out my pay acct for July and gave them to Col. Smith for delivery.

I saw General Forsyth¹²⁸ & apologized for not calling over to see him last night as I had gone to bed when I found out that he was in camp. Saw Genl Terry who told me that Larned had been appointed Prof. of D'g.¹²⁹ He was mad & thot it was an outrage as we all think him a systematic shirk. I took dinner with Mr. Cook, Colonel Cook's brother, Col. Reno, Benteen and Sim Boorleigh.¹³⁰ After a pleasant time we left and the *Carroll* pulled out for Lincoln. As soon as I came to camp I learned that two boats¹³¹ [illegible] I rode down to the river & the boat with 5th Infy and Det. of 7th Cav. men who had been left at Lincoln in chg of property & sick were in sight. They gave a big cheer pulled to the shore. I jumped on board & showed them where the landing was. Genl. Miles,¹³² Capts Hathaway, Carter, Ovenshine & others all old friends were on board. Mr. Garlington was on the *Josephine*. Carter, Baldwin & Garlington each had a "billet doux" from my darling. But she gave me heck for not writing oftener, & says Mrs. Moylan gets five letters to her one & she cried because mine was so short. It was the first letter for two

UNHORSED

from CENTURY MAGAZINE (New Series), VOLUME XXI





weeks although I've sent her four or five one by Ellis and one by Buford.

Aug. 3 Thursday. Looked over the papers sent by darling. Some severe criticisms emanate from the press of many who know nothing of Indian warfare. They seem to think the same grand tactics are employed in it that is used in "civilized" warfare, or battles.

Capt. Carter took dinner with us. In the evening went fishing with Hare but did not catch anything. We went up to Headquars. Sang the Star Spangled Banner with vim, Auld Lang Syne and Old Hundred.

Aug. 4, Friday. Wrote a letter to my darlings and issued ordnance. [illegible] boxed up our surplus to ship on Durfee to Lincoln. We also got some horses but many have the distemper and will probably give it to many of the old horses. Had several callers today. Went up to see about transportation, and found we would have one wagon on the trip.

Aug. 5. Saturday. Burckhardt, Blunt, Lahy & Murphy¹³³ were discharged today to go down on the Str. E. H. Durfee. I regret to lose all of them as they have been excellent soldiers. I finished my letter to mamma put it inside of my *Diary* which closes July 31st. I gave them to Blunt to carry "to Mrs. Godfrey."

We moved our camp a short distance preparatory to moving tomorrow. Have got Ackerman for cook.

Sunday Aug 6. The "General" sounded at 7 a.m. We packed, etc., to move across the river. The Regt. got across about 11 a.m. and we moved up the Rose Bud about 1 mile & went into camp. No shade within reach. We "skinned" down on baggage to comparative light marching order. We keep an "A" tent & fly also an A tent for a cook tent—My new cook He

hardly has the experience to resort to all the expedients necessary in the field—I take my cookstove. We will carry 5 days rations & 5 days forage. Capts. Carter, Hathaway, Hastings, Baldwin, Woodruff and Br——¹³⁴ called a short time. We had a pleasant time. General Miles called but I was not in. I wrote to my loves—but the weather is too hot—98 in the shade.

Monday, Aug. 7th. We had mounted inspection at 8 am. I have 44 men in ranks; 1 teamster, 2 at Reg't Hdqrs. 5 at Dept. Hdquars, Artillery & ordnance detachments—8 absent—47 serviceable horses present, 3 unserviceable; 3 on details; Finished my letter to my own, also wrote to the Army and Navy Journal correcting the prevailing mistake that Col. Benteens column at the Battle of the Little Big Horn was a "Reserve" by design. Went down to the boat & got 1 1/2 lbs tea & posted my letter. Lieut. Macklin, 22d Inf'ty & Lt. Whitten, 5th Inf'ty. have been tried by G. C. M.¹³⁵ for drunkenness. I am told the evidence is quite strong. Macklin receives a good deal of sympathy but Whitten none.

Tuesday Aug. 8, 1876. Reveille at 3 & moved promptly at 5 am, but it was 6:30 before the Rear Guard got out of camp or the wagon train crossed the creek. This has been a dreadful hot one—Several men had to be taken into the ambulances overcome by the heat.

In the afternoon about two o'clock heavy clouds appeared above the horizon from the direction of Big Horn Mts—This gave us a shadow about 1:30, and at 2 pm, we went into camp about 1 mile below our first camp out of Rose Bud June 22nd.

The odometer indicates 10 miles. We find the water running above and some very cold springs but the water is alkali.

A slight breeze sprang up in the evening but a lull during

the night made us howl. The mosquitoes went for us. Mr. Garlington has changed his mess to Col. Benteens—It was quite inconvenient to come so far for meals. A rumor spread that a man of C co. & his horse had been found both dead but it seems some “Dough-boy”¹³⁶ got it off as a joke.¹³⁷ 9.84 m's¹³⁸

Wednesday Aug. 9. Broke camp at 5. This morning is bracing but I have an almost unquenchable thirst. I drank nearly half a gal. of water yesterday—Am not going to do so today, so have kept a pebble in my mouth but it does not seem to excite the saliva.

I took two quinine pills and they help me. About 8:30 AM a light rain fell from the north. About 10 the sky was overcast and at 10:30 we have a “norther,” so an overcoat feels comfortable. The scouts report Sioux. I feel as though I'd like to cuddle in a warm bed. A great deal of trouble with the road a number of crossings—a good many unnecessary & a great deal of unnecessary work. Marched 11 miles.¹³⁹

Thursday Aug. 10. Broke camp at 4:45 & marched in advance of the train; the sun rose clear and soon got warm. About 9 o'clock the Crows came in & reported Sioux ahead. We saw a very large smoke up the creek—After advancing about 1 mile we saw a heavy dust and the Crows put on their war paint—We saw persons approaching and immediately formed a skirmish line with the 2nd Cavalry deployed as skirmishers in our rear. Soon after Bill Cody, *alias* “Buffalo Bill,” rode up to our line from Genl Crook's command which was about six miles above us and had gone into camp. Of course all the excitement as to Indians was over the alarm was given by the Indian scouts because they had seen the Shoshone scouts.¹⁴⁰

We rode ahead and went into camp just below Genl

Crook's command. Met a good many officers of both Inf'ty and Cav. Lt. Hayden DeLany, 9th Inf'ty; Maj. Burt, 9th Inf'ty; "Jack" Hayes, 5th Cav. We got orders to prepare to leave wagons and take 15 days rations. Marched 15 miles.

Friday, August 11. Ordered to take 15 days rations on 8 pack mules, no cooking utensils, no officers baggage except what they carry on their private horses. Only one blanket & over-coat per man. I drew rations with the company & for Hare, too. Carried one comforter & shelter tent on private horse. We left camp about 11:30—Some of the packs did not get out of camp for over an hour. The 5th Inf'ty under Gen'l Miles went down the river last night & from there will go down to the mouth of Tongue per Steamer to head off the Indians if possible. He takes with him two (2) 3 inch rifles. The 22nd Inf'ty had very much the experience we had when we started off with our pack train. We went directly across to Tongue River which struck in about 11 miles, good road practicable for wagons and camped on it. Marched 13½ miles.

We had the Wolf Mts. to our right and Little Wolf Mts. on our front until we struck the Tongue. When we crossed the Tongue we came into an old Indian camp made since the Battle. It had been burnt off but some remnants of clothing were found showing them to be the same who were in the Battle—Some said they saw where some had been burnt at the stake, but I am told the indications by Indian interpretation said that had been some miners & over six mo ago. It began raining after we got into camp & continued all night. I saw Gen'l Crook, Lt. Bourke and Scuyler of his staff.

Saturday Aug. 12. I went down to 5th Cav Camp for a few moments when I heard the advance was moving out—So I hurried to join and found the 7th had taken the advance. I

met Genls Merritt¹⁴¹ and Carleton,¹⁴² Maj. Upham, 5th Cav; Maj Mills, 3rd Cav., Charles King, '66,¹⁴³ Forbush & _____¹⁴⁴ W. P. Hall, '68. I find all don't obey the orders so literally as I did about rations, & that they carry a good many extras. It rained a good deal and must have been pretty hard on the "doboy's" When we went into camp it was raining & continued all night. Hare & I went fishing and caught 2 two "cats"; one we ate & gave the other to our strikers—Most everybody is without shelter & I don't think any body will get much sleep. Marched 13 miles.

Sunday Aug. 13. Broke camp at 7:30. It rained at times but was a good marching day we passed two Indian camps yesterday they seem to be taking their time & have very few tepees but very large herds of ponies. We passed through three more camps today—The Tongue valley is a very fine one and the grazing is superb. Well wooded with ash and cotton-wood Except by making cuts to the river a practicable road "is not." The river runs to bluffs on either side and the curves of the river leaves necks of land shaped something like a tongue; it is easily imagined that may be the origin of the name "Tongue" river.

Just a few miles from camp of today we came to a very wide valley made by two creeks coming in from opposite sides, indeed it seemed almost like coming to the Yellowstone valley.¹⁴⁵ We made camp about 5 pm. Marched 24½ miles. Officer of the day.

Monday Aug. 14th. Broke camp at 7:30 & continued down Tongue river to Pumpkin Creek, where the trail took up it. After marching up it about four or five miles we went into camp—very much to our disgust we are under Genl Gibbon again. Something must be wrong about Genl Terry that he

cannot hold control of Cavalry & Infy without having merely *nominal* command—We found the grazing superb to-day on Tongue river and very good in places on Pumpkin Creek. We passed through two old Indian camps—one on P'n Cr'k. A courier came from Genl Miles saying Indians had not crossed Yellowstone—one Co. at Tongue, two at Powder River and one on St. boat patrolling river. The camps look quite old. Marched $15\frac{3}{4}$ miles¹⁴⁶

Powder River. *Tuesday, Aug. 15, '76.* The trail leaves Pumpkin Crk and strikes east. The canteens were ordered filled in anticipation of no water to perhaps Powder river. Had dyspepsia last night and a diarrhoea this morning. The soldier's diet does not agree with me. We have our hard bread fried in the Bacon fat, and our coffee & sugar make up the ration—the country over is quite Bad in places especially making the Powder River side down the creek [difficult]¹⁴⁷ We struck the Powder divide about 10 and got to where we had a view of Powder valley about 11:30 and then began the descent.

A good many of the Infy "played out" and we had to carry them on our horses. It is simply an encouragement to straggle and somebody in their battalions is lax to permit it. Goodloe, Campbell and Kell, 22nd, Walker, 17th, were visiting us—Goodloe said he gave a man a good kicking—took him out of ranks—for straggling today.

Walker says he has been detailed as personal Aid de Camp on the staff of Genl Terry, apparently for the purpose of carrying orders to the Commdg. off. of 7th Cav. Maj. Reno has been playing "ass" right along and is so taken up with his own importance that he thinks he can "snip" everybody and comment on the orders he receives from Genl Terry's Hdqrs. and insult his staff, so there is not any one the per-

sonal staff on speaking terms. We find very fine grass on Powder river and the country burnt off in spots.

Powder River. *Wednesday, Aug. 16.* Broke camp at the usual hour and marched right behind the Inf'ty or in their vicinity. Gen'l Terry and staff were riding by McDougall, Varnum and myself. I passed the time of day to some of the staff when Gen'l Terry stopped and waited for us to come up to shake hands. It was through his pure goodness of heart, but it appears to me a Gen'l ought to be a little harder to approach. He asked about "the Bloody 7th" as he termed it.

I understand that he has said if he had not so much respect for the officers of the Regt. he would put some other field officer on duty with the Regt. It seems that Reno's self important rudeness makes him unbearable—I was very sorry to learn that Goodloe, 22nd, had a paralytic stroke today and is helpless. It probably was induced by exposure. Poor fellow, he can not speak but will very likely recover as he has some strength in his right side.

Had a talk with Doane, 2nd Cav. tonight; he was at Goodloe's tepee constructing a mule litter. I think I'll suggest to Gen'l Terry to put Doane in command of the scouts, for he certainly has a great deal of "Savez" about Indian character—is experienced in plain-craft and a man of good judgment and very observing. We are camped opposite our old camp of 8th to 11th of June. Marched 19 miles.

Powder River. *Thursday Aug. 17th.* Broke camp at the usual (time)¹⁴⁸ about 7 am—Gen'l Crook's Inf'ty. leaves every morning at 5 am and get into camp at or before the cavalry do; and their marches are independent of each other. While ours leave at the same time we do and we have a Battalion tagging after them as escort and they don't get the benefit of the cool of the morning.

We marched down the Powder valley and struck across to our old wagon trail and followed that making our march a good deal longer than necessary. Part of the country has been burnt off. A good suggestion was made today that *all* the country be burnt off entirely from the Little Missouri west & north to the British line. The Buffaloe will not roam where the country has been burnt off and the Indians must go to the Buffaloe—Therefore we would drive off the Indians.

Met "Philo" Clark,¹⁴⁹ 2nd Cav., who came down from Ellis by boats to join his Regt. He has been Adjt. of his Regt. We have camped on the *Powder* about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Yellowstone. Marched 23.

Powder River. *Friday, Aug. 18.* Went down to see about rations. Col. Smith, A.A.A.G.¹⁵⁰ told me we would in all probability draw rations from Lincoln the next issue unless of course the trail should cross the Yellowstone. I remarked that it would suit me and he said it he thought it would most everybody else too.

The P.T.¹⁵¹ sold nearly everything out—tobacco & such things at outrageous prices. We have prepared to move tomorrow. I went over to 2nd Cav. camp at Capt. Ball's invitation to get an onion—Their hospitality was bountiful. We were given eggs, potatoes & onions by Ball, and Doane gave me one can of Pine Apples, one can of Preserves. They got a lot of vegetables by boat from Ellis and shared with everybody. Schofield laid out a *big cake*.

Mo.¹⁵² Powder River, M.T. *Saturday, Aug. 19.* We did not move as we expected with our 14 day rations towards Lincoln and those whom we love. So far no evidence appears that they have crossed the river. The Plan now seems to be for all to follow trail toward Lincoln and if necessary Crook can

get rations there or from there. The wagon train to go down to Buford and from there march down the Mo. The Montana trains wait for Montana Troops.

The steamboat has been ordered to Rose Bud for all supplies, etc. at Depot. We had Lloyd and Robertson,¹⁵³ Infty, Hare classmates for Breakfast. We felt happy to dispense a hospitality on vegetables.

We laid in some more stores from the Sutlers store. The Com. Dept. fails to furnish any stores for sale to officers a plain case of neglect on somebody's part.

Sunday, Aug. 20. Genl Crook cannot move until his Infty gets shoes, so we must wait for the St. boat to come down—We passed the day sociably a good many visitors from the other camps—wrote to my darlings.

Powder River. *Monday Aug. 21.* Word comes up from the St. boat Carroll that a mail is on board and the Indians are at Standing Rock.¹⁵⁴ also have been firing into boats on the Mo. That a cantonment of ten Cos of Infty will be formed at mo of Tongue River¹⁵⁵—Got a mail today two letters from my darlings at Lincoln, one from father. Mage Rice, Col. Barntz residence 1761 Cedar avenue Cleveland Ohio. Lt. Resrine, Ex Sergt Courtland Morris, Ex-Blacksmith W. S. Harvey, one from Sergt. Winney's brother, Scuylerville, Utica Co N.Y. and mothers brother Lorain, Lorain Co., Ohio—also papers. I see father had my letter to Mary published as he said he had so many inquiries to read it. I wish he had taken some care to have had the construction of sentences made more perfect. It was written hurriedly while everything pertaining to refitting company was on my mind and a thousand details to attend to. I see when mention is made of other officers it has been omitted.

Went over to the train today to get some articles out of wagon & saw Hughes¹⁵⁶ who says we will take 42 wagons & ambulances with us to carry extra forage & rations should they be needed.

Tuesday, Aug. 22. Met Capt. Mills¹⁵⁷ & Lt. Sibley, 2nd Cav. We were caught in the rain while at the Commissary buying stores and had a disagreeable time getting home.

Wednesday Aug. 23. Mouth Powder River, M.T. I went over the river to get canvass for men & some commissaries. I got my trunk, looked at my darlings pictures; got my razor & housewife to carry on the trip and asked Dr. Harvey to attend to it and deliver to Mrs. Godfrey at Lincoln; saw Goodloe who has improved so he can sit up asked him to go to my house at Lincoln. He cannot speak; his right side is paralyzed.

I left camp without my coat it was so warm & pleasant, but it clouded up and began to rain & kept it up all night; very cold & wind blowing hard. Poor men & animals. The dog tents do not afford a great deal of protection against a blowing rain. I wrote all evening to my loves at Lincoln. The St. Far West coming down.

Mouth of Powder River. *Thursday Aug. 24.* Lay in bed till 9 am; rain still continues and the Powder River is up so we cannot cross over it. we have not had any forage yet although the other commands have had. I wrote to Mary till breakfast was ready. Today is Hare's birthday (25th)

I started down to Steamboat landing but boat pulled away before I got to it—so I put in time writing to Mary & writing this. Orders have been issued for all dismounted men to be sent down on boat. Returned to boat at 5 pm got some cigars out of my trunk and asked Dr. Clark & Grant Marsh to please

send trunk down to Lincoln by Carroll and gave Dr. Clark a letter containing money & key to trunk addressed to Mrs. Godfrey. Hope all will get through safely. Went to bed early. Marched on off Day and visited guard just before Reveille.¹⁵⁸

Friday Aug. 25, 1876. Visited guard just before reveille. Broke camp at 6; tried two or three fords but none seemed to be fordable. We found the ground very damp so it exhausts the horses very materially to march. Marched up Powder River about 7 miles on west side and forded the river. 'Twas a little above belly deep. Packs came through O.K. The ford led to where the Indian village had been about *three weeks before*. We took the trail which led to the top of a very wide Plateau and over it. We crossed and kept on up the river to a small creek with water from recent rains and went into camp—As we came up river we saw Crook's column moving out—and when we reached the plateau we met Genls Terry & Gibbon with Infty & wagon train. Soon after we went into camp a courier Buffaloe Bill, came to Genl Terry with dispatches that Str. Josephine, with Col. Whistler,¹⁵⁹ 22nd Infty, was coming up river with further supplies for cantonment. Also some mail was sent up but I did not get any nor did Moylan or Gibson. Everybody else got letters from their wives. Genl Terry took French's company and moved up to Crook's camp about 10 miles up the river. Marched about 17½ miles.

Saturday Aug. 26th Marched 22½ miles. Broke camp 7:30 am and turned back to Yellowstone. Considerable trouble with B & M company packs am rear guard of cav. at 10:30 am received orders to send co. packs & cooks ahead with Regt and take rear guard of Everything, whole column. Shot two abandoned horses left by other cos.

We found an excellent road over the Plateau from Powder to O'Fallon's creek and a very good place for wagons to come down directly on the Point bluffs at junction of two rivers and a splendid view of the country both up and down the river. Got into camp at 3:30 p.m. Gen. Crook's command marched down to Glendive hoping to meet the strs. Mouth of O'Fallon's Creek, Yellowstone. *Sunday Aug. 27.* Broke camp at 7 am and marched down stream (Crossed O'Fallon's creek) about four miles where we were ferried across Yellowstone by Steamers Carroll & Yellowstone. Col. Reno had it official that 5th & 22nd Inf'ty and one Regt of cavalry other than 7th Cav would be designated to form cantonment at mo. of Tongue River. That we would not be kept out later than Oct. 15—the probabilities being that we would go in right away.

Weston¹⁶⁰ was on board and said Mrs. Godfrey had given my mail to Bell¹⁶¹ and Bell remained Lincoln. *Pshaw!* She ought to have known better than to have trusted him. Benten & I went fishing. He told me he had the detail of Recruiting. I am glad he gets it over everybody else besides myself—as he certainly is entitled to it over everybody else.

The Regt. will certainly feel his loss very much for some two years—We got across the river by 5:30 P M and the command moved at 6:45, the Inf'ty a little before. The Commissary had some cans of beef (meats) and some beeves were killed after we crossed. The cans were not proportioned, so some messes got some & others none. Only a small part of the beef was issued—We marched rapidly for about 6½ miles and bivouacked with water. Total march 11½

Monday Aug. 28th. We broke camp at 5 am & marched 5 miles & we found water; bivouacked & had breakfast—at



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9:30 we moved again. Soon after we left a big fire broke out in camp. We came up a very pretty valley where we camped was a fine spring. After marching some distance we began to prospect for water and went over to the creek valley we had been marching over & which was to our left, when we found water in pools but evidently fed by springs. Plenty of wood and a very pretty camp—Buffaloe were seen & killed by scouts. Marched 20.96

Thursday Aug. 29, 1876. Broke camp at 6 am was in advance of Regt. Continued up creek valley Xed the divide about 10. Hare and McDougall went hunting; we saw a good many Antelope and after we crossed the divide a herd of buffaloe was seen. on reaching the creek valley we grazed our horses and soon after a buffaloe herd was seen coming over the bluffs a detail of two was made from each company I got on the pony and we started for the herd. I could not make the pony go fast enough and so did not get a shot and went on over the hills. Pvt Robert¹⁶² was with (me)¹⁶³—we soon found a herd on the top and it would be a good idea to drive it toward the column we drove it about two miles and found the column had halted—so we pitched into the herd. I got an old bull cut out and he showed fight, Pony understood the game and I rode up pretty near and gave the old fellow a shot; he ducked his head but I gave him no opportunity for a rush and soon let him come up alongside and gave him one through the belly which he didn't like & ducked for another rush. Still I gave him no opportunity and let him come up alongside again when I shot him in the spine and down his hind qurs went he made a desperate attempt to recover himself and fell—soon after another herd came up and I thought I'd take a cow. I got up along side and missed, I found only one more

shot in my pistol & so withdrew from the contest; The pony did not like to give up. I went back to the bull, took out the loin hump & "dornicks" and a hind quarter—a great many buffaloe were killed & the command supplied with fresh meat the first for a long time (10 days) We halted after going down the valley some time where there was some muddy water, dug holes and got good water; the Cav made coffee; the Infty continued the march to Pool water (spring) about three miles below. We had to use buffaloe chips for fuel. We moved on after coffee to camp below the Infty. Today was the first time buffaloe hunting ever gave me any sporting excitement. Marched 17.62 miles.

Wednesday Aug. 30. Left camp at 6:30 am. marched about 1 mile & waited until nearly 8 am for the Infty packs to move out of column. We kept an easterly direction over the divide. Passed several good water holes. Marched to a creek said to empty opposite Glendive crk. Here Buffalo Bill and Hерndon scouts who had been sent to Glendive on 28th, rejoined us—no news from the river—As soon as we struck water Genl Gibbon said his Infty *could not march any farther*. We were two miles above wood and good camping ground. I went down with packs to get wood. Marched 17½ miles.

The day was not very warm either—Towards evening it got cloudy & cool—There was no excuse why Infty could not march any farther. Three horses were abandoned by the command.

Thursday, Aug. 31. Reveille at the usual hour. The 2nd Cav. pickets reported three (3) horsemen as having passed near camp. The scouts were sent out & found that (3) three antelope had passed them. At 8:15 we left camp. The Infty & Genl Terry with 2 Cav. continued on down the creek and we

moved east across the divide. The country was pretty rough but we had an ambulance and a practicable road could be found for a wagon train—we crossed several streams of good water and saw plenty of antelope & deer and went into camp on a running creek, had some difficulty getting to the valley which might have been avoided by going "lower down" or "higher up."

Just as we were going down from the divide I saw the smoke of St. boat and after putting Co. in camp I got on pony, took Trumpr Penwell and started for the river—I went to a point but could not see any thing of her so didn't get a mail. Marched about 20 miles.

Yellowstone River. *Friday Sept. 1.* Broke camp at 7 am and kept on our easterly direction crossed a creek of running water about 12 miles out and continued toward river & finally struck the bottom in which we found a very good camping place, but Col. Reno thought he ought to go farther and we marched about three miles, but we found the country all burnt off, so we made a bad camp. When about two miles from camp we heard a St. boat. Wallace & I with a detail went over to it; we found it after a good deal of hard work, riding through underbrush, sloughs, etc.; it was the Carroll, but had no mail for us and was loaded with machinery for the new Post at Tongue River. After we got into camp scouts were sent to the Mo. river to look for "signs" and to Genl Terry with a report of the scout. The Yellowstone came up afterwards and we got some forage off her. *No mail.* Marched about 18 miles.¹⁶⁴

Camp on Yellowstone. *Saturday, Sept. 2, 1876.* The scouts came to camp at 6:30 from the Mo. and reported "no signs" and the country all burnt off to the Mo. We broke camp at 8

and got into camp at 12:30 having marched about 15 miles up the Yellowstone Valley. We had a good camp. The Silver Lake was aground, and the Carroll and Yellowstone came up—We took 13 horses & 50 head of cattle from them to lighten their loads. They remained all night. The Josephine and Benton passed down. Had a visit from Col. Reno, Lts. Wagner and Low Lt. Jacobs 6th Inf. on Silver Lake. Capt. Britten, 6th Infy, gave us a head of cabbage and some onions each mess. Hare killed a Prairie Chicken & we had a royal feast for supper.

Dr. Lawrence gave me a paper bag full of flour from the St. boat Yellowstone. Made requisitions for tobacco, and made the mens hearts glad as they were out. Marched about ¹⁶⁵

Glendive Creek. *Sunday Sept. 3.* Left camp about 9 am and got to Glendive where the troops were camped about 1:30. Was Rear Guard and had the cattle to guard which delayed us somewhat as they were not used to travelling and the day was warm. Gave my application for "L" to Col. Reno.¹⁶⁶

Opp. Glendive M.T. *Monday Sept. 4th.* Remained in camp. Gave my application to Col. Reno who endorsed it. My application stated that Capt. Sheridan¹⁶⁷ was absent on detail & Braden¹⁶⁸ absent sick. Col. Reno forwarded the application approved & earnestly recommended "The facts as stated by Lt. Godfrey will leave the Co. without an officer for some time & the 2nd Lt. is probably inexperienced"—and took the application to Capt. Smith in person & spoke to Genl Terry in person. Had a slight touch of headache.

The expedition has "busted," and now preparations are being made for the several troops & columns. The 22nd continue here as guard for a Sub depot—and the 5 Infy go to

Tongue river for cantonment—The 7th Infy & 2nd Cav. go to Montana & the 6th Infy & 7 Cav. go to Buford¹⁶⁹ and from there we will go home.

Tuesday Sept. 5. Made calls on officers of other Regts. Saw Col. Reno about making a change of Non Comm Offs in Co. he would not issue an order but I issued an order making Corpl Murray,¹⁷⁰ 1st Sergt. [Demoted]¹⁷¹ Sergt Rott¹⁷² to Sergeant and made Rachael¹⁷³ Corpl—which I think will be an improvement on the old regime. Sergt. Rott was too careless about the comfort of the men and seldom said anything about matters I ought to have known about. The rations got short and no steps were taken to inform me so it could be rectified. Murray has been a Non Comm Off eleven years & so I had to jump Corpl Nolan who is a good man but I guess he is philosophical enough to understand.

Col. Reno told me I had better see Genl Terry about my transfer which I did in the evening who told me it was all right and approved and would be forwarded first mail. All the officers of the expedition collected at Dept Hdqrs in the evening where we remained about two hours singing. We parted with Auld Lang Syne and L.M. Doxology, Praise God etc. and general hand shaking.

Wednesday Sept. 6th. Got up at 6:30, ate breakfast and went to the St. boat. Keeven came to the tent to sell his mare, a little beauty. Hare bought her for \$125 and gave an order on Capt. Harmon for the am't—which I endorsed.

I wrote a short note to my own and endorsed my order on Brooks Bros. for a blouse & pants so as to have something decent to wear when I get in. The 6th Foot pulled out at 8 and we followed about 9:30. The 2nd Cav. pulled out at the same time. They have about twenty four or five days march be-

fore them. We will probably consume as much time as we must use up ten days rations before we go in to Buford—80 miles down the river. We made camp at 12:00 having marched about ten (10) miles.

Hare killed an antelope and a mule eared deer. I've felt badly all afternoon.

Thursday, Sept. 7th. Broke camp at 7 and marched down the river and went into camp where we overtook the Silver Lake aground. Nothing noteworthy took place—except our camp we left in the morning took fire and made a heavy smoke—which fire is very unfortunate as the Infty will have to transport supplies from Buford for the cantonments. After getting in camp I took Sergt. Hose¹⁷⁴ and one man to go hunting. We met Mr. O'Kelley "Herald Correspondent,"¹⁷⁵ who with Lt. Hare had been hunting. They got nothing & Mr. O'Kelley went with us. We went down to the river saw where a very large bear had crossed a slough and we tried to cross but it was too boggy, and we continued our hunt to the bluffs but returned with nothing. It turned cold and rained by dark.

Friday Sept. 8th. It continued raining more or less this morning till 10 o'clock—about 8 am. the steamer "Far West" came up and had a mail. Everybody got mail but me. Why? Why have I not heard anything since in July from my family It makes me feel *bitter, mad*—not even a paper did I get. Moylan had a paper from his wife, so it can't be they are sick or she would have mentioned it—We broke camp at 4 pm. and marched about 7 miles and went into camp on a creek, wooded with elm. Excellent grass and water. Had my mind whirling tonight on plans for "campaigning" after getting to Lincoln. Continues cold and raw.

Saturday Sept. 9. Broke camp at 7:15 am and continued our

march down the river. The pack mules are playing out getting weak and will soon give up the load for the "Cavelyard." got into camp about 11 am. Passed the Str. Carroll on her way up the river—No mail—Went into camp near banks of Y.S. no grass—difficult to get water—The Y.S. here partakes of the character of the Mo.—cut banks and no pebbles, sand bars become a feature of the river. Tortuous channel—Marched 16 miles.

Sunday Sept. 10th The 1st Battln was ordered to march back to a point 20 miles up the River. The St. Josephine came up about 6:30 am with supplies for Glendive and was ordered to put out forage at both camps and it turned out that Maj. Reno had been ordered to have one Batt. at that point and to march the other to a point not more than 25 miles to Buford and from these two points scout the river—so the Capt. of the boat mentioning that he was to put his forage at *both* camps, and asking where the other was, made Col. Reno nervous, so our Batt. was ordered saddled after we got saddled & packed some couriers arrived from Buford directing the forces to "Wolf Point" Assiniboine Agcy on the Mo. river, where it seems they have a report that Indians are crossing or have crossed so we unpacked, unsaddled to wait for something else and broke camp at 11 am. About ten (10) miles from camp N.W. we crossed a creek which had cut off the fire and found good grass & water plenty of dry wood—our march was continued about ten or twelve miles farther and we camped in a very pretty cove, the head of the stream we crossed ten 12 miles below—and near two pointed buttes (adjacent) we found plenty of wood, good grass; & water about one mile below the buttes. Evidences of trappers having been there at some recent year. Got cool in the evening & cloudy. Infty made good time, 22 miles¹⁷⁶

Monday Sept. 11, 1876. The weather was cloudy & misty the fogs cut off the view of the country so it was almost impossible to keep the direction of compass. We crossed the "divide," the "great divide"¹⁷⁷ about 9:30, and we stopped a short time built fires & dried out a little. It began to be a question of a camp again as 'twas last night for when we could find wood was no no water and when we found water no wood was to be seen—so we pursued our journey for about 25 miles and went into camp on wood—for fires we must have—and Mrs¹⁷⁸ Hare & Mathy found water about $\frac{3}{4}$ miles below camp. It continued to rain all night; we had a *big* fire in front of the tent. We were ordered to make the rations last to include the 17th two days addition, so it gave us about $\frac{2}{3}$ rations—This is done in anticipation of "no boat" when we reach the river and have to march down to Buford. The Comdg Off will not allow hunting for the present, so it will come pretty hard on the men. Nearly all the officers messes are out of provisions owing to the incompetency of Lt. Thompson, A.C.S.¹⁷⁹ of Expedition. No officers stores are for sale & when we send up for parts of rations we are informed they cannot be had—and no flour.

Tuesday, Sept. 12. Missouri Mouth of _____¹⁸⁰ Still raining & foggy; dismal & uncomfortable. About 9:30 we struck Bad Lands—and when the fog lifted the Mo. River was in sight about five miles from B.L. we had a very difficult place to descend. The Rear Guard had a very difficult time to get the ambulances down and were on the point of abandoning them; but finally got them down and broke one, so it had to be abandoned on the bank of the River left for the boat to pick up—After the ambulances got in we were informed the commd would move in two hours, and at 5:30 P.M. we marched up

the River—until about 7:30 when we went into camp for the night, called by some Redwood Creek but from the map looks like Elk Prairie Creek—a stream of about ten yards wide—Have had a painful diarrhoea for the past two days. Marched about 25 miles.

Camp near Mo. River 3 miles from Wolf Point Assiniboine Agency. *Wednesday Sept 13* Broke camp at 5 a.m. and continued the march up the River—was Rear Guard. Felt badly all day from my diarrhoea bloody, mucous discharges. We got to this point about 10 o'clock—No boat in sight. Col. Reno Wallace & Hare, with an escort went to the Agcy which is located on the Left bank of the Mo. Lone Dog¹⁸¹ with a few families, passed on his way north six days ago, but no force of Indians have gone this way—and few have been into Fort Peck. Marched about 16 miles.

Hare got a few potatoes for distribution to the officers—There are no stores for sale at the Agcy and so we are compelled to wait for the boat for supplies and 10 to 1 there will not be any officer's stores on board. Lt. Jacobs and Mr. Leighton were at the Agcy—The boat left Buford yesterday p.m. and will probably be here by Friday—The Indians killed two Buffaloes today—Old Bulls.

The Agcy Indians are said to be out killing Buffaloe of which there are said to be many a few miles out from the River.

Camp on Mo. River. *Thursday Sept. 14* Moved camp about two miles to banks of river fine camp good grass plenty of wood but difficult to get at water—My diarrhoea continues Am officer of the day—After leaving our camp it was discovered to be on fire and I was sent back to find out where it originated & if it could be put out. I reported it originated in

"A" Co. and it could be put out. The 1st Battl was ordered back to extinguish it (on foot). Moylan fixed the origin of the fire on Sergt Culbertson¹⁸² of his Co. and reduced him to the ranks for his carelessness.

A slight frost last night.

Camp on N side of Mo River. *Friday Sept 15* Sent out several hunting parties this am. The Str. Chambers¹⁸³ came up about 12 M. and the "General" was sounded and we were soon crossing over the river by 5 P.M. everything was crossed over and we went into camp. It was intended to move a few miles down the river but a few *drinks* put that out of mind and we concluded to have a "sing."¹⁸⁴ Col. Smith and Reno told me the matter of my going to "L" Co. would be fixed by having me temporarily assigned to "L" before we got in. Got some com. stores and a sack of potatoes from the Agcy.

Camp on Mo. River, M.T. *Saturday Sept 16*. Broke camp at 5:30 am. and marched 17 miles to Frenchman's fork,¹⁸⁵ a pebbled stream about ten yards wide and went into camp for 3 hours to noon. got dinner—We marched at 1 pm across the Big Bend of the Mo. and camped at 4:30, distance 13 miles. Total distance 30 miles. Edgerly came up on a St. boat and bro't my mail.¹⁸⁶

Sunday, Sept. 17 Broke camp at _____¹⁸⁷ Marched to the "Big Muddy,"¹⁸⁸ a stream which deserves its name, and nooned. The contractors are hauling & cutting hay for Fort Buford, a distance of about 32 miles from Buford—here we found but little wood. constant camping at the crossing of so many parties uses up all the fuel, and the Buffaloe do not range this far down.

After nooning we continued our march to the "Little

Muddy," which is a *clear* stream—we got to camp about dark and had considerable difficulty getting wood.

McDougall & Edgerly went to Buford last night. McDougall's mother and sister died (on the same day), and Mc expects to go to telegraph communication to learn of his father's doings—Edgerly goes down to draw supplies.

Monday Sept. 18 Marched to Fort Buford¹⁸⁹ by 10:30 a.m. Tis called 15 miles. The road thro bottom is pretty bad and thro willows, We passed the remains of old "Fort Union"¹⁹⁰ once occupied by the North Western Fur Company—nothing but stones out of which the chimneys were built, wells, sinks etc. The Indian scout's qrs are comfortable looking log huts one of which was octagonal and slides sloping and covered with dirt The Entrance was on top and was sheltered at the entrance by a basket frame over which they fasten a skin. They were surrounded by the loafers painted, and as usual smoking—Some of the squaws & children were dressed in calico *dresses*—We passed by the fort and unsaddled about a half a mile away—We turned over our pack mules & have two wagons to the Regt. from here to Stevenson¹⁹¹—leave here with two day's supplies. The Post looked clean and neat. I went to the store, bought a coffee mill and looked thro the mail for a letter but didn't get anything. Saw Lt. Jacobs, Wagner and "Lufo." No other officers called at camp nor showed any hospitality whatever to my knowledge—I presume their hospitality has been sorely taxed this summer by the numerous officers passing up & down the river and awaiting transportation. Still they were "Coffee Coolers."¹⁹² and we "warriors" we probably were not fit subjects to introduce into their families. Nearly all the officers took dinner at the store with Mr. Jordan. After dinner I went in to pay my

respects to Mrs. Jordan the first white lady I have seen in four (4) months. Genl Hazen¹⁹³ commands the post at present. After getting supplies we moved down on to a small creek about four miles out and camped.

Dry Camp *Tuesday Sept. 19th.* We marched to a creek four miles above the Muddy¹⁹⁴ camped for noon and then moved to the "Muddy" and camped till nearly sundown. We fed, watered, cooked supplies and marched about 8 miles and went into a Dry camp.

Wednesday Sept. 20. Reveille at 5. Moved at 5:45 Col. Weir brought some wood and officers made coffee at his fire. We continued our march to "Tobacco Garden,"¹⁹⁵ a creek with wood in ravines and pretty good water. Met quite a number of Indians going out to their fall hunt. Didn't learn to what tribe they belonged some of them were in wagons driving their teams and look quite accustomed to it. They still wore the Indian costumes—and looked quite gay. We met also a wagon train going to Tongue river post to the employees of wood contractor were with them. After nooning we continued our march to Grinnell Point a wood yard where we got two day's rations but they didn't put off any bacon so will go two days without the meat ration.

Sully's Lake, *Thursday Sept. 21.* Marched to Knife river¹⁹⁶ and lunched for two hours. Distance marched 17 miles, and then to Sully's Lake. We crossed Shell creek. No wood and got to this place after dark. Slept badly on a/c of eating a late supper. Total distance 41 miles.

Fort Berthold D.T. *Friday, Sept. 22.* Marched to this place 32 miles. We passed thro quite an extensively cultivated bottom—of corn principally, but had beans, squashes and potatoes—The village is made of logs and adobe and dirt cov-

ered structures. I could not make a minute inspection or even a satisfactory glance. The Agent, Dr. Darling, informed me that they raised about 10,000 bushels of corn, fifteen or twenty thousand bushels of potatoes and that he had an appropriation of \$12,000 with which to carry on the agency. Heretofore Mr. Tappan¹⁹⁷ has been the Agent and had an appropriation of some \$60,000. How or where it was spent is another thing. We went to the Agcy boarding house & got a pitcher of fresh milk which we finished and sauntered at the Agents office till supper time and we took a square meal and settled for it with the agent, 50 cts each. He was not proprietor of the house, only a boarder.

Fort Stevenson, D.T. *Saturday, Sept. 23.* Camped about a mile above Stevenson on a creek and went into the post. Met Col. Dan Huston,¹⁹⁸ Lts. Wetheral Thompson and Dr Harvey. The Dr. has grown stouter and looks well—I took a bath and shave and after the column moved thro the Post sent all stragglers to the command and then went to the qrs of Lt. Wetheral where we had considerable amusement singing: some got too tight to be amusing. Lt. Wetheral's qrs are neatly furnished the walls decorated with old engravings from the "Old Masters." After prancing some time we went to Dr. Harvey's for dinner and had a very good spread to which we did ample justice and washed it down with Sherry wine, after which we had our desert of champagne & coffee. Gibson, Hare, Garlington & myself then mounted and proceeded to camp about six miles & a half. Soon after Dr. Harvey Wetheral and Thompson came in the ambulance, Weir and Eckerson tight, & Weir he fell in the creek up to his neck — The guests came down to my tent and we finished a bottle of brandy Dr. Williams had given to me when I had a diarrhoea.

Got to bed by Eleven o'clock. Camped on Wolf Cr., $20\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

Turtle Creek.¹⁹⁹ *Sunday, 24th.* When we camped we found driftwood for our fires and a mile further is another creek with wood and water we crossed several small creeks and passed a number of old Lake beds, now dry, only two or three having any water & no wood—The country has very much the Topography of Minnesota and at no very distant day the lakes have had quite deep waters—We got to Turtle Creek at 3:30 plenty of water; & wood on the Mo. $\frac{1}{2}$ mile—A ranch where mail stops. We got two chickens & some milk. Distance $27\frac{3}{4}$ miles.²⁰⁰



Frederic Remington

5-6

TAPS—CAVALRY BUGLER IN FULL UNIFORM

from CENTURY MAGAZINE (New Series), VOLUME XXI

The Pictograph

FEW BATTLES in the history of the world have stimulated as much interest and speculation as that of Little Big Horn. In the history of the United States from the time of the Custer Massacre, June 25th, 1876, until now, controversy rages as fiercely as the Sioux warriors on that fateful day.

Certainly Kicking Bear's pictograph done at Pine Ridge Agency about 1898 is one of the most significant treasures in the Southwest Museum. This outstanding piece of aboriginal American art painted on muslin by one of the leading participants in this greatest of Indian victories never fails to thrill the historian or even the most casual museum visitor.

Irvin S. Cobb, historian, writer and collector of Indian relics, reported Kicking Bear, the old subchief of the Sioux, was persuaded by Frederick Remington, the artist, to do his version of the battle twenty odd years after the event.

Kicking Bear worked on the task all one winter. When Remington failed to appear in the following spring, the old chief sold the work to the resident agent. The agent, at Kicking Bear's request, wrote in the names of the leaders on the Indian side and the names of the Sioux warriors who fell in battle. In 1902, the agent sold the drawing to George Rehse, an artist, from whom Mr. Cobb purchased it in 1934. Mr. Cobb loaned it to the Southwest Museum and through the generosity of his widow, it was transferred as a memorial to Irvin S. Cobb in 1945.

Kicking Bear's pictographic history is in the typical Sioux artistic tradition. The whole effort is to depict the magnitude

of the Indian victory. The absence of any of the terrain characteristics or perspective, is natural to the Indian eye. The Indian village in the lower right was more than two miles from the battle ground. The cavalrymen in the battle of Little Big Horn did not carry swords. They were known to the Indians as "Long-knives" so swords are shown beside the slain soldiers.

In this final battle, Custer wore his hair cropped short. He is shown with it long in the pictograph, however, since he was known to the Indians as "Long Hair."

Chief Gall is omitted from the central group showing Rain-in-the-Face, Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull and Kicking Bear. This was done deliberately because Gall had affiliated himself with the reconciled Sioux, whereas Kicking Bear, like Sitting Bull, remained hostile all his life.

The artist shrewdly forbears to show the mutilation of the fallen whites, but presents himself as having just lifted the scalp of one of Custer's Indian scouts.

The uncolored outlines, shown in one corner, represent the spirits escaping from the bodies of those who are dying. Bursts of gunfire come from the margin to show the Indians are continuing their volleys.

CARL S. DENTZEL, *Director*

Southwest Museum

Los Angeles, California

1. LT. COLONEL GEORGE A. CUSTER. Custer's hair was cut short at this time, and he wore the regulation field officer's uniform instead of his usual buckskin suit as depicted. 2. KICKING BEAR, Sioux medicine man, who made the drawing. 3. CRAZY HORSE, Oglala Sioux chief, leader of hostile Indians. 4. RAIN-IN-THE-FACE, Sioux warrior and chief, who took a leading part in the battle. 5. SITTING BULL, Sioux warrior and medicine man, who did not actually fight in the battle, but remained in the hills back of the valley "making medicine." 6. SPACE representing GALL, chief of the Hunkpapa Teton Sioux, who led the Sioux in the battle. His picture was omitted because he became friendly with the whites. 7. INDIAN CAMP with women preparing for the victory dance. The camp was located across the river from the battlefield. 8. DOG BACK. 9. WHITE EAGLE. 10. STAND-UP-RABBIT. 11. SAVE-HIMSELF. 12. BLACK-WHITE-MAN. 13. RED-FACE. 14. WHITE-BULL. 15. ELK-STANDING-ALONE. 16. LONE-DOG. 17. LONG-ROAD. 18. BEAR HORN. 19. PLENTY-LICE. 20. ARICKARA WARRIOR, one of Custer's scouts, killed by Kicking Bear, whose footsteps encircle the "Ree's" body. 21. OFFICERS of the Seventh Cavalry. The sabers indicate a faulty memory, as there were no swords carried in this fight. 22. NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS (sergeants) of the Seventh Cavalry. 23. SPIRITS OF DEAD SOLDIERS leaving their bodies. 24. SWIFT BEAR.

The first reproduction of the pictograph, together with Mr. Dentzel's comment, appeared in the Book Club of California's 1956 series of keepsakes, "Treasures of California Collections."

Notes

1. Fort Abraham Lincoln was located on the west bank of the Missouri River, a few miles below the present city of Mandan, North Dakota. Established in 1872, it became the headquarters post of the Seventh United States Cavalry the following year. Company, or Troop, K, of which Godfrey was the first lieutenant, was stationed at Fort Rice, several miles farther down the stream.

2. Godfrey often makes use of the symbol X to designate crossing or crossed.

3. In 1873, ten troops of the Seventh Cavalry had accompanied the expedition commanded by Major General D. S. Stanley which had escorted a party of engineers surveying a proposed route for the Northern Pacific Railroad. They had gone as far up the Yellowstone River as the mouth of the Big Horn River, and had had several brushes with the hostile Indians.

The next year, 1874, Custer, with his regiment and several companies of infantry, had explored the Black Hills, reporting "gold at the roots of the grass" and starting a stampede of miners into the region.

4. Sweet Briar Creek is a tributary of the Heart River flowing in from the north.

5. This entry is almost undecipherable. Godfrey first wrote "br. of Sweet Briar" and crossed it out, and wrote the word "mud" followed by the question mark in parentheses. It appears to be a "branch of the Muddy" but it might also be a "bar of mud." Muddy Creek rises about two miles east of Hebron, North Dakota, and flows into the Heart River some sixteen miles south of New Salem.

6. "No wood, no water."

7. Mark Kellogg said they camped that night on a height of land on the west side of the Big Muddy.

8. Heart Butte is about 12 miles south and west of the present town of Glen Ullin. The twin buttes, which are to the northwest, and only a short distance from the present highway, also bore the picturesque name of "Young Maiden's Breasts."

9. This camp was about eight miles north and slightly west of Glen Ullin.

10. This camping place was on Thin Faced Woman Creek, a tributary of the Knife River, and near the present town of Hebron.

11. Young Men's Butte is a few miles west of Antelope, N. D.

12. This camp was on a hill to the south of Dickinson, N. D.

13. The reference is apparently to Mrs. Godfrey and to a request for an increased allowance for household expenses.

14. Lieutenant Edward Maguire was the engineering officer on General Terry's staff.

15. This camp site was at the confluence of Davis Creek and the Little Missouri River, and five miles south of the present town of Medora. The Sioux knew the river as the Thick Timber and it was one of their favorite camping places, especially in the winter.

16. Lieutenant Donald McIntosh was a half-blood Indian. He was acting in command of Troop G in the absence of Captain John E. Tourtelotte, who was on detached service in Washington, D. C. Lieutenant McIntosh lost his life while with Reno's detachment in the valley during the battle of the Little Big Horn River.

Lieutenant Jack Sturgis (James Garland Sturgis) was the son of Samuel D. Sturgis, Colonel of the Seventh Cavalry. Although regularly assigned to Troop M, he was serving with Troop E, the Gray Horse Troop, at the time of the battle and was killed on Custer Hill.

17. Anderson's Creek. This is probably the present Andrews Creek, which rises near Beach, North Dakota, and flows into the Little Missouri River near the town of Medora.

18. In 1871 Colonel Joseph Nelson Garland Whistler had traveled up the Little Missouri and then west into Montana in search of a practicable railroad route.

19. Guysie was the nickname for Lieut. Godfrey's oldest son, Guy C. Godfrey.

20. There are several streams named Beaver Creek. The one referred to here was probably the one in present Wibaux County, Montana.

21. Colonel John Gibbon was in command of a column of troops from Fort Shaw and Fort Ellis in Montana Territory. His force consisted of six companies of the Seventh Infantry and four troops of the Second Cavalry. They had moved down the Yellowstone River to a point a few miles below the mouth of the Big Horn and were now patrolling the north bank of that stream against any attempt of the Sioux to cross. On May 23, three men, two soldiers and a teamster, who were out hunting were ambushed and killed by the Indians.

22. Zoe was Godfrey's half sister.

23. O'Fallon's Creek, a tributary of the Yellowstone, is in eastern Montana.

24. Captain Frederick W. Benteen, commanding Troop H, and the senior captain of the Seventh Cavalry. His antipathy to Custer is well known.

25. Captain Myles Keogh, commanding Troop I, was an Irish soldier of fortune who had served in the Papal Guard before coming to America. He is generally credited with having introduced the regimental song, "Garry Owen", with his horse "Comanche" was for a long time credited with having been the only living thing found on the Custer Battlefield when Gibbon's forces arrived. The best account of him is in Edward S. Luce, *Keogh, Comanche and Custer*.

Myles Moylan was the captain of Troop A. He was a "ranker," having worked his way up from the status of an enlisted man, and as a result some of the younger officers refused to admit him to their mess. Moylan was taken into the Custer home as a boarder after the bachelor officers denied him admission to their mess.

26. The *Far West* was the supply boat of the expedition. Its story and that of its colorful captain, Grant Marsh, are to be found in Joseph Mills Hanson, *The Conquest of the Missouri*.

27. Dooley, generally referred to as "old Dooley," was Godfrey's "striker," i.e., enlisted manservant.

28. Probably Americus V. Rice, who had served with distinction in the Civil War and who was at the time a representative in Congress from Ohio.

29. Major Marcus A. Reno was the junior major of the regiment but the only one of the three officers holding that rank who was with the expedition.

30. There were two officers named Porter with the regiment. Lieutenant James E. Porter of Company I is probably the one referred to here. The other was a civilian contract surgeon, Dr. H. R. Porter.

31. Lieutenant Luther Hare of Company K, Godfrey's second in command.

32. Miles City, Montana, is located at the confluence of the Tongue and Yellowstone rivers. It was about 18 miles upstream and near the present town of Garland that, on the 16th of May, Lieutenant James Bradley and his scouting detachment had seen the smoke from a large Indian village.

33. Lieutenant Gibbs—I can't discover his first name—apparently was not a graduate of the Military Academy, so he was probably an officer who had come into the army from civilian life. The Indians knew him as "Lump on His Back." Captain O. E. Michaelis was the ordnance officer and was known to the Indians as "Four Eyes."

34. Captain Thomas B. Weir and Lieutenant Winfield S. Edgerly, both of D troop.

35. Rosebud Creek enters the Yellowstone a short distance below the present town of Forsyth, Montana.

36. The presence of game, particularly buffalo, indicated that Indians were probably not far away since the buffalo was a traveling commissary for the Sioux.

37. Here the words "an old camp" have been crossed out.

38. Lieutenant Edward McClelland, who was the engineering officer with the Montana column, felt that Custer's column was "large and imposing" compared to that of Gibbon.

39. Major James Brisbin, commanding the battalion of the Second Cavalry stationed at Fort Ellis.

40. Fort Pease was a trading post built on the north bank of the Yellowstone River a few miles below the confluence with the Big Horn. From the date of its construction it was closely invested by the Sioux and had to be abandoned. During the Sioux campaign of 1876, it was used as a base by the Montana column.

41. The Little Horn was a name used for the present Little Big Horn River.

42. In the original manuscript an uneven line separates the two entries. The second was obviously entered later, probably after the battle.

43. Lieutenant George D. Wallace was the engineering officer and kept the itinerary. He was later killed at the battle of Wounded Knee Creek.

44. In the original Godfrey first wrote "right," then crossed it out and wrote "left" above. The words bank and side are both in the original, bank being superior.

45. The Sun Dance was a ceremony which with some variations was common to most of the tribes of the Great Plains. Lieutenant Godfrey's description is to be found in *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, IX (1923), p. 161.

46. Probably the scalp of Private Augustus Stoker of H company of the Second Cavalry, who was one of the men killed while out hunting on May 23. He was the only one scalped.

47. At the mouth of the Rosebud, six Crow scouts from Gibbon's column had been detailed to accompany Custer. They were Half-Yellow-Face, Hairy Moccasins, White-Man-Runs-Him, Goes Ahead, White Swan and Curley, who at the time was a boy of 19. Half-Yellow-Face was the leader, or "carried the pipe."

48. Lieutenant Charles A. Varnum of Troop A had been in charge of the scouts ever since leaving Fort Lincoln.

49. The entry continues without interruption with June 25th written above the next page.

50. Charles Burkhardt, who was Godfrey's cook.

51. Bloody Knife was the most famous of the Arikara scouts.

A favorite of Custer, he had accompanied the latter on many of his expeditions. Bloody Knife lost his life in the battle while with Reno's battalion in the valley.

52. Probably Sergeant William A. Curtis of Troop E. He had gone back over the trail to look for some clothing he had lost. At this time Captain Myles Keogh was in charge of the pack train.

53. Captain Tom Custer, younger brother of the general, was commanding Troop C. Godfrey originally wrote "Cook" but crossed it out.

54. The brackets are in the original. This messenger was Gio-vani Martini, or Martin. Godfrey was in error here as Kanipe was the first messenger, but he later made a correction in time. This would indicate that the account was written some days after the battle.

55. This was the site of the Lone Warrior Tepee and marked the location of an abandoned Indian camp. It probably stood at the junction of the north and middle forks of Reno Creek.

56. Most accounts say that the horses were watered before the site of the old village was reached.

57. The parentheses are in the original.

58. Sergeant Daniel Kanipe of Company C. His account is to be found in *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, IV, 277-283.

59. Godfrey originally wrote Tongue River, then crossed it out and wrote Little Big Horn above.

60. These were Arikaras. Godfrey's mistake in calling them Crows has been repeated by many subsequent writers.

61. Most accounts say that Captain Weir and D troop moved downstream without orders, in fact in defiance of orders, and make no mention of his return until the remainder of the command moved downstream and joined him. This could possibly have been another company but that is unlikely.

62. That is, the company was dismounted.

63. According to testimony at the Reno Court of Inquiry, one wounded man of D company was abandoned during the retirement from Weir's Point and fell into the hands of the Sioux.

Major Reno is also supposed to have abandoned several wounded men on his retirement from the valley.

64. Dewitt Winney, first sergeant of K troop.

65. The word ridge was at first written in before "position" but was crossed out.

66. An almost contemporary reference to Reno's conduct on the hill. He has been accused of being intoxicated.

67. Major Reno told the Court of Inquiry that Lieutenant Godfrey had almost completely covered himself with his bedding.

68. Note the contradiction here with what Godfrey had written earlier.

69. Private Elihu F. Clear. Although most accounts refer to him as Clare, the roster gives the name as Clear. He had been serving as Lieutenant Hare's orderly, and was killed on the bluffs shortly after Reno's command had recrossed the Little Big Horn.

70. Sergeant Michael P. Madden and Private William W. Lasley.

71. Privates Patrick Corcoran and Max Mielke. The roster as given in Luce says that Corcoran was wounded on the 25th.

72. Captain French of Troop M.

73. This would indicate that they had no idea of the tragedy that had befallen the Custer command.

74. For contrary view see *Army & Navy Journal*, July 15, 1876.

75. General Crook was in the field campaigning against these same Indians. He had been stopped on June 17 and forced to retire but Godfrey and his companions were not yet aware of the fact.

76. However, Captain Egan's company of Crook's command was said to have had gray horses.

77. Probably either Bostwick or Taylor, two white scouts with the Montana column.

78. Lieutenant Charles C. DeRudio was an Italian who had been involved in the Orsini plot against Napoleon III. His life had been spared as the result of the personal intervention of the

Empress Eugenie at the request of Mrs. DeRudio. After a period of service with the Garibaldi forces in Italy, he had migrated to the United States and entered the army as a career. There are other accounts which indicate that he joined the Reno-Benteen forces on the hill earlier than the time given by Lieutenant Godfrey.

79. Fred Girard was the interpreter with the command, "Billy" Jackson was a half-breed Pikuni scout, and Thomas O'Neill a trooper of Company G.

80. Lieutenant James Bradley, who was an old friend of Godfrey's, was in command of Gibbon's scouting detachment and had earlier discovered the bodies of Custer Hill. His *Journal* of the campaign of 1876, which is a most fascinating account, is published in *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, II (1926), 140-226. He was killed the next year at the Battle of the Big Hole, against the Nez Percé warriors of Chief Joseph.

81. According to popular account, Madden, who was a heavy drinker, was given a stiff drink of brandy after the amputation. He smacked his lips and suggested that the doctor cut off his other leg.

82. The bodies of both Captain Tom Custer and Lieutenant Cook were badly mutilated. In the former case the abdomen had been cut open, which led to the report that the celebrated Sioux warrior, Rain-in-the-Face, had cut out the captain's heart and eaten it. So extensive were the mutilations that the captain's body was identified only by tattoo marks on the arms. Lieutenant Cook's body had been scalped, the scalp including his Dundeary whiskers. Wooden Leg, a Cheyenne, later claimed to have scalped the adjutant.

83. Second Lieutenant William Van W. Reilly, youngest officer of the regiment, who had no regular company assignment.

84. Captain George W. Yates, F company, Captain Keogh of I, Lieutenant James Calhoun, C company. Although Calhoun was the regular first lieutenant of C, he was acting in command of Troop L at the battle. His second in command was Second Lieutenant John J. Crittenden, regularly assigned to the Twen-

tieth Infantry but on detached service with the Seventh Cavalry. Algernon E. Smith was the regular first lieutenant of Company A. but commanding E at the time of the battle.

85. Second Lieutenant Sturgis of M, but serving temporarily with Company E. Second Lieutenant Henry Moore Harrington of C, and Assistant Surgeon George E. Lord.

86. This would indicate that at the time Godfrey hoped there might be some survivors. The scout Curley told of seeing a group of soldiers who had become separated from the main command, apparently trying to fight their way out, some mile or so from the battlefield. No trace of such a group, if there was one, has ever been found.

87. The use of the word horse rather than pony suggests that it was a Seventh Cavalry horse.

88. The words in brackets were crossed out in the original. Those in parentheses and brackets are illegible. In the original this part of the diary is badly confused, showing that Godfrey had made several later corrections. The reading given seems to be that which the lieutenant finally decided upon.

89. Tullock's Creek, a tributary which enters the Big Horn River about four miles above the latter's confluence with the Yellowstone.

90. This refers to a fight which a part of the Seventh Cavalry had had with the Sioux during the Stanley expedition three years before.

91. Indecipherable.

92. These three words had been written under the previous entry and then crossed out, further evidence that Godfrey neglected his diary for several days and then brought it up to date at one writing.

93. Captain Stephen Baker commanded Company B, Sixth Infantry. This company had accompanied the expedition from Fort Lincoln and had served as a guard on the river steamer *Far West* from the time it left the base camp on the Powder River until it returned to the mouth of the Big Horn. Joseph Mills Hanson, *Conquest of the Missouri*, says that the company was taken off the steamer here and did not accompany it downstream.

94. Curly, long believed to be the only survivor of the battle.

95. Written across the top of the page is "Hayes of Ohio & Wheeler of N. Y. nominees."

96. This would account for the trail that Godfrey saw on the 28th. See note 86.

97. These two officers were with the Montana column.

98. In accordance with a prearranged plan most of the Ree scouts had made their way back to the base camp when it became apparent that the regiment had been defeated. Their action was not, as is so often alleged, dictated by cowardice. A few stayed and fought on the hill. Three of the Arikaras were killed and one severely wounded. Although the name of one scout, Stabbed, is on the monument as killed, this is an error; he survived the battle.

99. First Lieutenant Charles Braden, who was absent on sick leave at the time of the battle.

100. A tributary of the Yellowstone and a favorite camping place of the Crows.

101. Crook's fight on the upper Rosebud when he had been stopped in his tracks by the same Indians that later defeated Custer.

102. For the account of the failure of this courier see Colonel John Gibbon, "Hunting Sitting Bull," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, II (1877), p. 675.

103. Fort Rice, where Godfrey was regularly stationed, was a few miles down the river from Fort Abraham Lincoln.

104. Captain Ball was the senior captain of the Second Cavalry battalion.

105. Note discrepancy in dates.

106. The "General" was the signal to move camp.

107. Corporal John Nolan of K troop, who had been left at Powder River base camp and did not participate in the battle.

108. These were all officers of the Second Cavalry.

109. This word is illegible and might be "tied," but "laid" seems to fit the context better.

110. Captain Sanno commanded Company K of the Seventh Infantry and had marched from Fort Shaw with the Montana column.

111. This was Sergeant Charles Becker, and the map, which was made under the supervision of Lieutenant Maguire, is to be found in the Report of the Chief of Engineers, Appendix. Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1876. Washington, 1877.

112. A contingent of Arapahoes is said to have been in the hostile Indian camp. A clearing in the timber is supposed to have been occupied by their tepees, probably because the Sioux were suspicious that the Arapahoes were spies for the soldiers.

113. The question mark is in the original and probably indicates that Godfrey was not too certain of the accuracy of his information.

114. Scarey Creek, West Virginia. The action occurred July 17, 1861. See *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. II, 288-92.

115. Captain Owen Hale was captain of Troop K, but absent on recruiting service.

116. *Cincinnati Commercial*.

117. Wilson McConnell, a private in Troop K.

118. The brackets are in the original. Three privates, Evans, Stewart and Bell, and four Crow Indians had been sent out to attempt to reach General Crook. They had operated independently of each other. Both groups had succeeded in reaching Crook and in returning to Terry's command.

119. Eugene Asa Carr, who at the time was lieutenant colonel of the Fifth Cavalry.

120. For the details of this incident see John F. Finerty, *Warpath and Bivouac, or The Conquest of the Sioux*, Chicago (M. A. Donohue and Company), 1890, pp. 161-80.

121. Joseph G. Tilford was the senior major of the Seventh Cavalry.

122. The Diamond R, trade name of E. G. Maclay and Company, was one of the most famous outfits in Montana. It had the contract for hauling supplies for the Montana column.

123. In the original the 30 is crossed out.

124. Dr. C. A. Stein was the veterinary surgeon attached to the Seventh Cavalry.

125. The first notebook ends here.

126. Lieutenant Colonel Elwell Stephen Otis.

127. Edward W. Casey was the son of Brevet Major General Silas Casey. The latter as lieutenant colonel of the Ninth Infantry had participated in the Indian Wars in Washington Territory, and Fort Casey on Puget Sound is named in his honor.

128. James W. Forsyth had a distinguished Civil War reputation. In 1886 he became colonel of the Seventh Cavalry. At this time he was a member of General Sheridan's staff and was sent out to confer with General Terry.

129. Charles W. Larned was a lieutenant attached to F troop of the Seventh Cavalry, who had been on the Yellowstone expedition of 1873.

130. Mr. Burleigh, who was the clerk on the *Far West*.

131. The *Josephine* and the *E. H. Durfee*.

132. Nelson A. Miles, who was destined to be one of the greatest Indian fighters in the history of the army.

133. Charles Burckhardt, George Blunt, and probably William W. Lasley. There were two Murphys in Troop K, Michael and Thomas. This was probably Thomas Murphy, since Michael was wounded the next year at the battle of Snake River.

134. Probably Bristol.

135. General Court Martial.

136. "Do" is written superior to "Dough" in the original.

137. This is as near as Godfrey comes in his diary to any mention of the finding of a dead cavalry horse at the mouth of the Rosebud. For this see E. A. Brininstool, "Unwritten Seventh Cavalry History," in the *Middle Border Bulletin*, Spring, 1945, and also "Was There a Custer Survivor?" in *Hunter-Trader-Trapper*, April, 1922.

138. 10 miles had originally been written in and crossed out.

139. Again 10 had been written in and crossed out.

140. For a description of this meeting by an officer with Crook's column see Charles King, *Campaigning with Crook and Stories of Army Life*, New York (Harper and Brothers), 1905, pp. 77-78.

141. Wesley Merritt, who had earned a distinguished reputation with the Army of the Potomac during the Civil War, had been appointed to the Fifth Cavalry. According to popular report there was considerable rivalry between him and Custer. In 1879 he was a member of the Court of Inquiry into the conduct of Major Reno at the Little Big Horn.

142. Caleb H. Carleton, at that time a major in the Third Cavalry.

143. Charles King, who in 1876 was the regimental adjutant of the Fifth Cavalry, was a prolific writer on western and army subjects. In addition to *Campaigning with Crook*, his works include *Famous and Decisive Battles, Between the Lines*, *The Colonel's Daughter*, and *The Iron Brigade*.

144. Unprintable.

145. Probably Forest and Haddow creeks, which enter Tongue River across from one another.

146. The distance covered is written in at the top of the page.

147. The word is omitted but it is obvious that "difficult" is what is meant.

148. Again a word is omitted but this is clearly the meaning.

149. First Lieutenant William Philo Clark, who was an authority on the sign language of the Great Plains.

150. Acting Assistant Adjutant General. This was Captain E. W. Smith.

151. Post Trader.

152. The mouth of the Powder River.

153. Charles P. Lloyd, Fourteenth Infantry, and Edgar B. Robertson, Ninth Infantry.

154. Standing Rock Agency on the Missouri River some 50 miles below Fort Rice.

155. Later to be known as Fort Keogh, and named in honor of Captain Miles Keogh, who was killed at the Little Big Horn.

156. Colonel Robert P. Hughes, who was a brother-in-law of General Terry and was on the latter's staff.

157. Captain Anson Mills, author of *My Story*.

158. The last six words are crossed out in the original.

159. Colonel Whistler commanded the post on Tongue River from August 28 to December 30, 1876.

160. John Francis Weston, who had been a lieutenant in the Seventh Cavalry from 1867 to 1875.

161. Lieutenant James K. Bell, who was the first lieutenant of D troop, but did not participate in the Battle of the Little Big Horn.

162. Private Jonathan Robert.

163. A word is omitted here but it is probably "me."

164. This last sentence is written in at the bottom of the page.

165. This sentence is also at the top of the page and the distance marched is left blank.

166. The last sentence is crossed out.

167. Captain Michael V. Sheridan, younger brother of General Phillip H. Sheridan, was the regular commanding officer of L troop, Seventh Cavalry. At the time of the battle of the Little Big Horn River he was absent on detached duty.

168. Charles Braden, first lieutenant of L troop, had been severely wounded on the Yellowstone Expedition of 1873. Since that time he had been on detached duty at headquarters, Department of Dakota, and on Mounted Recruiting Service for a few weeks in 1876, but most of the time on sick leave. He was finally retired in June, 1878, for disability from wounds received in battle.

169. Fort Buford, at the confluence of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers. See note 189.

170. Corporal Henry Murray, who had not participated in the Battle of the Little Big Horn.

171. This word is illegible, and while it does not seem to be "demoted" that is what is obviously meant.

172. Sergeant Louis Rott had apparently been serving as first sergeant since the death in battle of Dewitt Winney, who was the regular first sergeant.

173. Henry W. Raichel. He was killed at the battle of Snake Creek by Chief Joseph's Nez Percés, September 30, 1877.

174. Sergeant George Hose.

175. This man has not been identified.

176. This last is at the top of the page.

177. The divide between the watersheds of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers.

178. Messrs.

179. The Acting Commissary of Subsistence was Second Lieutenant Richard E. Thompson, Sixth Infantry.

180. This is left blank. Since the stream was a short distance below Elk Prairie Creek, it was probably present Sand Creek.

181. There were probably more than one warrior by this name. For some possibilities see Stanley Vestal, *Sitting Bull, Champion of the Sioux*, Boston and New York (Houghton Mifflin Company), 1932, pp. 53, 54, 102, 128, 182; and Vestal, *Warpath: True Story of the Fighting Sioux*, Boston and New York (Houghton Mifflin Company), 1934, pp. 139-40, 203.

182. Sergeant Ferdinand A. Culbertson.

183. The steamer *A. B. Chambers*.

184. Here several lines are carefully erased.

185. Possibly the present Poplar River. The command is now moving down the Missouri River along the north bank.

186. Here nearly a page has been carefully erased.

187. Left blank.

188. Probably the stream of that same name in present Roosevelt County, Montana.

189. Fort Buford was built on the north bank of the Missouri River in 1866 as the successor to Fort Union. It was opposite the mouth of the Yellowstone.

190. Fort Union was built in 1828 by Kenneth McKenzie of the American Fur Company, near the mouth of the Yellowstone. One of the greatest of the fur-trading posts, it was purchased by the government in 1868 and dismantled.

191. Fort Stevenson was built by the army on the Missouri River at the mouth of Douglass Creek, later Garrison Creek. It was maintained from 1867 to 1883. See "Old Fort Stevenson," by Ray H. Mattison, in *North Dakota History*, XVIII, 53-93.

192. This term was applied with apparently a variety of mean-

ings but can be most often translated as "shirkers." It was also used by soldiers in the field to designate those on garrison duty.

193. William B. Hazen was in command of the Sixth Infantry at Fort Buford.

194. In Williams County, North Dakota.

195. This stream enters the Missouri River from the south.

196. Probably the present Little Knife River.

197. Godfrey here touches on one of the sorest spots in the history of our dealings with the Indians, that of graft at the Indian agencies. It was of particular interest to the army, for they had to fight Indians who had been provisioned and equipped by another branch of the government.

198. Daniel Huston was lieutenant colonel of the Sixth Infantry.

199. In present McLean County, North Dakota.

200. The diary ends abruptly at this point. The regiment arrived back at Fort Lincoln at noon on the 26th of September.

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The field diary of Lt. Edward Settle God



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